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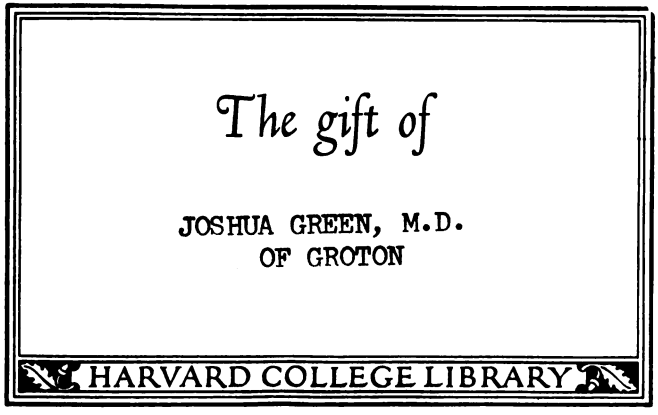

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# TRAVELS

IN

# EGYPT, ARABIA PETRÆA,

AND THE

# HOLY LAND.

BY THE REV. STEPHEN OLIN, D.D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

WITH TWELVE ILLUSTRATIONS ON STEEL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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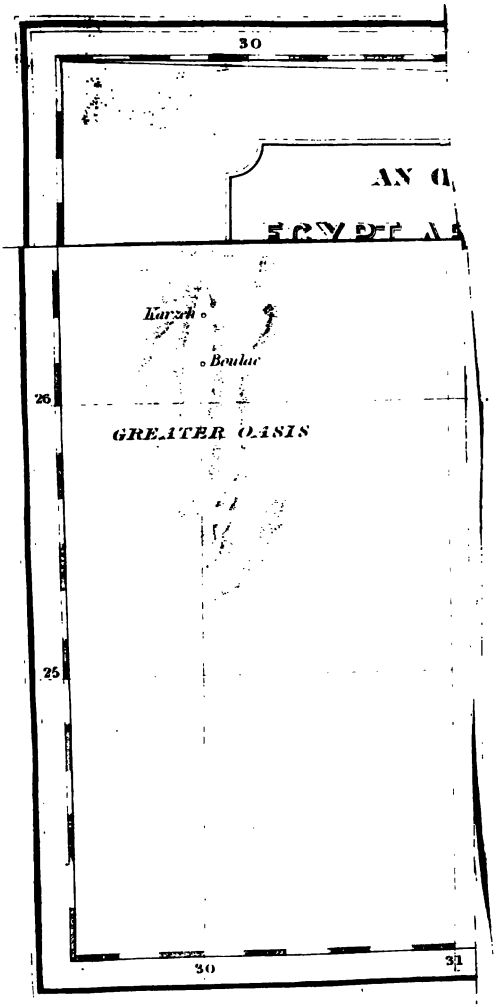
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# PREFACE.

When I embarked at Trieste for Athens, in November, 1839, my health was so feeble and precarious as to render it doubtful whether I should be able to extend my tour beyond a visit to some of the maritime parts of Greece, and I had certainly little expectation of recording, much less of publishing, the events of the voyage. Change of scene, however, and sea air, acted so favourably upon my shattered nerves, that I had not been three days out of port before I began to amuse myself with keeping a brief diary of the passing incidents. The pleasure of using my pen, to which I had been a stranger for the three previous years, led me to continue the practice, and on my arrival in Athens my notes were spread over several pages. Fifteen days on horseback among the mountains and valleys of the Morea and Continental Greece so much improved my strength and prospects, that I resolved to keep a regular journal of the events and observations of each day, so far as circum-

stances would permit. This plan I was enabled to follow, with some slight interruptions, from that time to the termination of my tour in the East.

It will be perceived that I had no opportunity for the prosecution of any course of study chosen with especial reference to the objects of this journey. My general reading had made me acquainted with the history of Egypt and Palestine, and some attention to the antiquities and literature of the Bible had rendered me somewhat familiar with Oriental manners and customs. Of the several books of travels in these interesting regions which had recently appeared I had not been an inattentive reader, yet many occasions arose in the course of my tour in which I felt the want of a more intimate acquaintance with the researches of scholars and antiquarians. These literary deficiencies will, I trust, be chiefly apparent to the reader in the omission or very cursory treatment of several topics on which the title-page of these volumes confessedly authorizes him to expect more full and satisfactory information. In writing of the antiquities of Egypt, for instance, I have said almost nothing of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, upon which several travellers bestow a regard nearly exclusive, and which, in the view of one class of readers, constitute precisely the most important subject of inquiry embraced within the range of my tour. Without being insensible to the value of this branch of antiquarian study, I did not feel myself competent to form or express opinions which are something worse than valueless except when they are the result of protracted and careful investigations, such as the mere traveller has no opportunity to make. I have adopted a similar course with regard to the startling chronological questions and conclusions to which the partial and

unsatisfactory progress hitherto made in the study of Egyptian antiquities has given rise. On other points equally difficult, and still more the subjects of controversy among learned men, I have not hesitated to express my opinions with the utmost freedom, because, as it seemed to me, these topics do not belong exclusively to the jurisdiction of scholars and antiquarians. It were presumption to pronounce upon the age of the Temple of Carnac, or upon the import of the mythological symbols sculptured or painted in the Tombs of the Kings, without having devoted years of patient observation and study to subjects so recondite and obscure; yet a man of much humbler pretensions, who has traversed the Desert with an observing eye and the Bible in his hand, may very properly form his own conclusions as to the place of the crossing of the Red Sea, or the route pursued by the Israelites in their way to Sinai and Palestine.

I solicit the attention of the reader to another remark upon a kindred topic. It will be seen that I do not pretend to give a full account of the manners, and customs, and religious opinions of the present inhabitants of the several countries to which my visits were extended. Numerous instances and facts which fell under my own eye I have faithfully recorded, but I have generally refrained from making any statements on these subjects not derived from personal observation or inquiry. It would have been easy to swell and enrich these pages with much valuable information derived from the only authentic sources, from writers skilled in the prevailing languages, and made familiar by long residence with usages which they profess to describe, yet it did not suit my purpose to avail myself of these resources. The reader who requires greater fulness of details can refer to the original works; and I

rather prefer to maintain, as far as possible, in his presence, the character of an eyewitness of the truth of what is here offered to his perusal.

It was with a view to this cardinal purpose that, using the meager guide-books to which I had access merely as convenient catalogues of the objects to which the traveller's attention should be chiefly directed, I have constantly endeavoured to describe by recording the impressions derived from my own examinations and reflections. I have not found it practicable to adhere to this purpose with perfect uniformity, but I have taken care that the reader shall be able to detect every deviation from it without difficulty. I wish to confine this remark to my descriptions of material objects. In referring to opinions and historical facts I have not found it practicable, nor have I thought it important, to be equally scrupulous.

In thus relying exclusively upon my own observations and inquiries, the results of which were always recorded upon the spot, I lay no claim to originality beyond what belongs to every independent observer, nor have I attempted or desired to avoid a general concurrence with the statements of former writers. In countries so little civilized, and so bare of all the creations of wealth and refinement as those treated of in these volumes, the same objects occur to every traveller, and are likely to have place in all books of travel; and the tourist who, ambitious of the praise of originality, refrains from describing what has been described, and well described, by those who have gone before him, will have little to offer either for the instruction or amusement of his readers. I have felt no wish to avoid the beaten track, satisfied that it is the easy and natural way to such objects as possess the highest interest and importance; and I have assumed in

my title-page the responsibility of giving to such as may take me for a guide, a true account, so far as I am able, of all I deem most worthy of their attention, along the routes which I pursued.

In carrying out this design, I cannot flatter myself with having always satisfied the wishes of the reader, for I have very often fallen below my own. Many doubtful questions of utility or of mere taste must unavoidably occur in the prosecution of such an undertaking: it is not always easy to determine what space should be given to a particular topic; what amount of detail may be best adapted to produce a clear or full impression; how much of consideration or argument may be due to a prevalent theory or an ingenious hypothesis. Such questions are of perpetual occurrence; and the writer who would neither prose nor dogmatize, having no guide but his own discretion, is likely to be charged often, and sometimes justly, with both. I have in nothing felt these difficulties more than in my attempts to describe ancient monuments. In most instances I have consulted brevity, as most likely to be agreeable to the reader; in others, where the object possesses great intrinsic or historical interest, or where complication of plan and multiplicity of parts are involved—as they are in some of the remains of the massive Egyptian architecture—I have ventured, too far, perhaps, on one or two occasions, upon greater prolixity. For these offences against the taste or convenience of the reader, if in a few instances they are found to exist, I solicit his indulgence; and I beg him to believe that I was not always able to perceive a middle course between omitting all intelligible notice of some highly interesting monuments, and of enumerating so many of their particular features as might convey to the

mind a pretty full conception of them, though at the risk of being tedious, or even obscure. I am sure no one will be disposed to regard as intolerable an inconvenience which may be avoided with no greater trouble than that of turning over some twenty or thirty of these pages unread.

I have adopted the form of a journal, giving incidents and objects in the order both of time and place in which they actually presented themselves to my notice. I am not insensible to the advantages of a more exact and scientific method, but I thought this better adapted, upon the whole, to the simple and unpretending character to which alone this work aspires. No inconsiderable portion of these pages is given to the reader precisely as they were written out amid the scenes which they describe: in the cabin of the rude boat in which I navigated the Nile; in the tent which gave me shelter in the Desert; and in my lodgings in the Holy City. I have not chosen to remodel this part of my materials; for, highly as I appreciate the ornaments of writing, I had neither strength nor time to give to such objects, nor was I quite satisfied that a more pains-taking elaboration would not detract something from the more important qualities of vivacity and truthfulness. In those parts of the work which are more especially devoted to events and objects met with in journeying, the order of time is the most obvious as well as natural principle of association; and it is here, if anywhere, that the frequent recurrence of dates and daily incidents is likely to become tiresome or distasteful. In treating of scenes more crowded with curious or important objects, where the observations of an hour supply the materials of a chapter, the order of place more naturally becomes the ostensible

bond of connexion, and the diurnal character, however closely adhered to in the arrangement of facts, is likely to be little noticed by the reader.

Enough has probably been said of the occasion of this work, and of the manner and maxims followed in its preparation. I am not unmindful that graver matter is involved in the question which will naturally arise in several quarters, why such a work should be written at all? why another book of travels should be thrown upon the burdened market, on regions already so fully explored, and with regard to which our reading public is abundantly supplied with information so ample and various, so recent and authentic? A sufficient answer to this inquiry might perhaps be derived from the terms in which it is proposed. The eagerness with which so many works on Egypt and Palestine have lately been received by our American public, evinces the profound and general interest with which these subjects are regarded, and is likely to be welcomed as an encouraging omen by the tourist who comes forward with a fresh offering. The new candidate for favour might also rest his expectations of moderate success upon some speciality of object or manner, in virtue of which he might hope to minister to a class of tastes and wants not so fully satisfied by other writers who treat of the same general topics with equal or greater ability. One of our American travellers, whose work has obtained an unexampled popularity on both sides of the Atlantic, has known how to throw the charms of romance upon the dreary track of the Desert, and to blend amusing personal adventure with graphic and truthful descriptions of interesting objects, to an extent that leaves the general reader little to desire, except, perhaps, somewhat more of exactness and fulness in details A

still later traveller has entitled himself to the gratitude of biblical scholars and of the religious public by his Biblical Researches, a work at once rich in the fruits of extensive erudition, and in the reports of faithful and shrewd observation. After enjoying favourable opportunities for forming an opinion upon the subject, I bear a willing testimony to the high and peculiar merits of both these authors: of Mr. Stephens, whose interesting sketches and amusing incidents have done more than any other work to awaken extensively the curiosity of the public; and of Dr. Robinson, who has contributed so largely to its gratification. I have thought, however, that there may still be a numerous and intelligent class of readers, serious in their tastes and practical in their objects, who are prepared to receive a report less enlivened by humour and incident, and quite destitute of pretensions to critical, philological, and antiquarian learning, but which shall yet exhibit, in a simple, perspicuous style, a pretty full narrative of whatever meets the eye of the traveller in these interesting regions, whether in the form of their natural features or ancient monuments, or in the character, pursuits, and present condition of the inhabitants.

I am free to avow that these volumes would not have appeared, but for a hope that they may gain access to readers beyond the sphere of what is currently denominated the reading public: of those whose leisure or tastes, and professional habits, lead them to peruse all new books, or all belonging to certain departments of literature or science. I by no means undervalue the opinions of this most respectable class, which includes the natural and influential arbiters of literary merit and the dispensers of literary reputation; but such persons are already sufficiently provided for, and any new work upon the subjects

under consideration which does not possess some special claim on the score of critical and learned research—a claim that is likely to restrict its adaptation to professional readers—must find its principal sphere of usefulness in a circulation more strictly popular. Peculiarities of manner, or in his relations to society, will sometimes enable a writer, otherwise of no high pretensions, to cross the circumference of the fashionable literary circle and address a new audience; and it is about in proportion to its success in attaining to such a career that a new book of travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Palestine, can be regarded as really useful to the public. With this one condition in its favour, a book of travels is commonly a good book, and it must grossly violate either truth or good taste to counteract its natural and ordinary tendencies. Whether considered in reference to the intellectual tastes and habits produced or fostered by this species of reading, or to the practical worth of the knowledge which it imparts, or to the doubtful or pernicious character of the lighter literature which, so far as it goes, it is likely to supersede, every simple and true account of foreign countries, of their physical or moral peculiarities, manners, institutions, and historical monuments, and of their intellectual and economical condition, brings a valuable contribution to the best interests of education, good morals, and public happiness.

More than all this may be claimed in behalf of an unexceptionable book of Oriental travels. It has a religious character. It is a commentary upon the Bible, whose divine teachings derive from no other source illustrations so pleasing, so truly popular, and so effective. It has been pointedly remarked, and with more truth than usually comports with the brevity of an apothegm, that

"nothing changes in the East." The natural features and productions of these regions are essentially the same after the revolutions of ages; and the occupations, modes of living, manners, and dispositions of the Fellah, the Bedouin, and the modern Syrian, offer so many points of striking resemblance to those of the patriarchs and their Jewish descendants, as would, in the absence of historical information on the subject, lead to the belief of their common origin. To introduce the reader to a familiar and intimate acquaintance with these objects, is little less than to naturalize him in the Holy Land, and to place him on a noble vantage-ground for more fully understanding God's Word. Travellers in the East feel and acknowledge the inspiration of the scenes that surround them, and yield up their last doubt to the demonstrations everywhere addressed to their senses. I cannot think it even possible for any man of intelligence and observing habits to cross the Desert and dwell a week in Jerusalem, without being fully satisfied, on the evidence thus obtained, of the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, whatever he may resolve to think of their inspiration. A measure of this convincing influence may reasonably be expected to attend the perusal of a faithful account of such objects and scenes by an eyewitness; and it is with a hope of contributing in some humble degree to the better understanding and higher appreciation of the Divine Oracles, that these pages are now offered to the public. Considerations of a less elevated character may have operated unperceived, but this, I am sure, has been my controlling motive. A number of years devoted to the Christian ministry, and to the instruction of youth in several different states, have given me a pretty extensive acquaintance with the religious community of this country; and sev-

eral friends, for whose opinions I entertain the highest respect, have induced me to hope that this journal of my Eastern tour may be favourably received by many to whom I have become known, personally or by reputation, in these interesting relations. They think a way may thus be opened for the introduction of useful knowledge into many families; that a considerable circle of youth may be reached by salutary influences; and that a book on such subjects, and recommended by such recollections, may perhaps be made welcome in several libraries of Bible-classes and Sabbath-schools. This would, indeed, be a good reward of my labours. It would quite satisfy my highest ambition if the scanty fruits of a season of weakness and affliction might thus be consecrated to interests dear, above all others, to my heart.

The reader will not infer, from the strain of these remarks, that this professes to be a religious work. It is merely a book of travels that is offered to his perusal, embracing only the usual topics of such a performance; a plain description of the objects, and a true record of the incidents, which I met with in my journey. As such it must accomplish, if it accomplish at all, the good to which it is devoutly consecrated in my hopes and prayers.

It is, perhaps, necessary to subjoin a word of explanation in reference to the delay which has occurred in the publication. On the night of the day of my arrival in the United States, I had a return of a malignant disease contracted among the fens of the Danube. For more than a year afterward I was wholly disabled for literary as well as other pursuits; the manuscript journal of my tour, meantime, remaining undisturbed in my portfolio. I had, indeed, quite abandoned the idea of publishing, when, at the request of my friend, the Rev. Dr. Peck, I undertook

these pages. I confide in his indulgence of this overflowing of sorrowful recollections. In inviting him to accompany me in my wanderings, I thought he might feel some interest in knowing why I went abroad, and I could not refrain, on so fit an occasion, from offering a tribute of affection to the memory of an endeared friend, whose lovely image has everywhere come up afresh before me, to sadden my return to the broken social and religious circles once adorned by her virtues and accomplishments.

The accompanying map has been prepared by Mr. Catherwood, an eminent artist, already well known to the American public, who has himself travelled over a large part of the route embraced in this work. The illustrations are also from his original designs, with the exception of two kindly furnished me by Mr. Formsby, an English gentleman and amateur artist, my fellow-traveller through the Desert, and one borrowed from Laborde.

I take this occasion for expressing my devout gratitude to God, who so graciously guided and protected me in my journeys by sea and land, who has more recently given me strength for this hasty preparation of my materials to meet the public eye, and, beyond all my expectations, has restored me again to an interesting field of active, and, as I hope, useful employment.

STEPHEN OLIN.

*Wesleyan University, Nov.* 1843.

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# TRAVELS

IN

# EGYPT, ARABIA PETRÆA, AND PALESTINE.

## CHAPTER I.

Embarcation.—Departure from Athens.—Fellow-passengers.—Voyage to Syra.—Delay.—Commercial importance of Syra.—Harbour.—Public Edifices.—Ship-building.—Situation of Syra.—New and old Town.—Imposing View.—Visit to the Shore.—The Contrast.—Description of the Houses and Streets.—Nuisances.—Trade.—Schools.—Voyage to Alexandria.—Greek Islands.—Their general Appearance, Productions, and Climate.—Fine Weather.—The Lycurgus.—Etiquette of a Ship of War.—National Prejudices.

I SAILED from the Piræus, the beautiful harbour of ancient as well as of modern Athens, for Alexandria, on the 19th day of December, 1839, on board the French steamship Lycurgus. Mr. Cooley and his lady, of New-York, with whom I had made a tour in Greece, were my fellow-passengers. The voyage to Syra was made during the night, and afforded us no opportunity to view the coast of Attica, and the islands of Zea and Thermia, the Ceos and Cythnos of the ancient Greeks, between which our course lay. We reached Syra, after a sail of eleven hours, at nine o'clock in the morning. There we were detained until Sunday, December 22, waiting for the French mails, which, however, did not arrive, the steamboat from Malta by which they were expected having, from some cause, been detained. This delay gave us an opportunity to visit the city of Syra. It consists of an old and new town, the latter having grown into importance since the commencement of the Greek revolution. The exposure of commercial enterprises, upon

Continental Greece, to the vicissitudes of this savage war, attracted trade to the islands, and Syra profited more largely, perhaps, than any other by these calamities. It has continued to prosper to the present time, and its position upon the great thoroughfare from Western Europe to the Levant will probably secure to it a permanent importance.

Steamboats from Trieste, Marseilles, Alexandria, and Constantinople meet here to exchange passengers, mails, and merchandise. It is the most populous as well as the most commercial city in Greece.

The harbour is ample and commodious. A new custom-house and lazaretto have been erected upon a large scale, and of solid and handsome architecture. Considerable activity is apparent along the wharf, and I counted twenty new ships, several very fine ones, upon the stocks. Upon the whole, this town has more visible commercial prosperity than any other place in the kingdom.

The situation of Syra is striking and beautiful. An amphitheatre of mountains embraces a small valley of uneven surface, variegated with small hills. The modern and commercial part of Syra is built here, covering the beach, and extending back upon the rising ground, which has just elevation enough to present the houses distinctly to the view of a spectator on a vessel entering the harbour. Beyond the new town there is a tract of unoccupied ground, about a quarter of a mile wide, also of such elevation as to be distinctly seen from the harbour. Beyond this strip of land, which, though rocky and barren, is terraced and cultivated, rises a lofty conical hill, upon the upper declivity of which, and apparently around the whole circumference, the old Venitian town is built.

The lofty summit of the mount is crowned with the palace of the Catholic bishop. The houses are all plastered with lime, and of dazzling whiteness. I have seldom seen a more picturesque and lovely sight. So much for Syra as

seen from the steamboat. We were desirous of enjoying a nearer view of a scene so enchanting, and lost no time, after the boat came to anchor, and we had attended to the requisite formalities at the health-office, in visiting the shore. No deception was ever more complete than that which these wretched, whitewashed habitations—I should rather say dens—had produced upon our vision. Hardly any of the houses are more than one story high. In front they are of one story, while the rear wall is nearly or quite on a level with the earth. Many of them are hardly ten feet square, and nearly all are without floors. The roofs are flat, and covered with earth. The streets, if so they may be called, are scarcely two yards wide. They perpetually change their direction, making right or acute angles almost at the corner of every house. They are not paved. Where the rock permits, a gutter has been formed by the action of the rains and of the slops thrown from the houses. The filth is inconceivable, and equalled only by that of the interior of the houses, of which we had a good view, as the doors were mostly open. The streets were, in many places, rendered nearly impassable by the swine tied before the doors, of which I saw more in Syra than all Greece besides. This description applies to by far the largest part of the city. A small section of it is built in a better style. Some respectable houses are seen near the shore. One street exhibits an active business. Several grocery establishments, especially, are extensive and well supplied. We saw a number of bookstores and stalls, and in one instance, a range of large new buildings, with marble fronts, occupied by tradesmen. The most interesting features of the city are its commercial activity and its schools. With a population of 20,000 inhabitants, it has 2000 children in a course of education. The most considerable of these institutions was founded by the Rev. Mr. Robertson, a missionary from the United States. It is conducted at present by an Eng-

lish clergyman, and is, we were informed, in a flourishing condition.

We left Syra after a delay of more than two days. Our direction was eastward for twenty-five or thirty miles, when we turned towards the south, and sailed through the channel that separates the islands of Naxia and Paros. These islands, as well as Syra, Andros, Tenos, Mycone, and the multitude of smaller ones which we passed in our voyage from Athens to Egypt, present nothing to the eye but bare precipitous rocks, which rise abruptly out of the sea, and shoot up into mountains of considerable elevation. They, however, imbosom many small valleys, which are well peopled, and fertile in currants, vines, and the other agricultural products of Greece. This information I derived from Mr. Perdicaris, United States consul at Athens, an intelligent Greek gentleman, who was our fellow-passenger, and who spent the previous summer in the island of Andros. The climate is salubrious, and it is resorted to for health, during the warm season, from Athens and other parts of Continental Greece.

Our voyage from Syra to Alexandria was truly delightful. The weather was fine, the sea calm and unruffled. The Lycurgus was a boat of the first class, with elegant and ample accommodations. These steamers are regular ships of war in the French navy, and have the advantage of the good order and exact discipline for which the public vessels of this nation are now distinguished, and which, I apprehend, in case of another conflict with a maritime power, would be found to give to this branch of the national force of France an efficiency for which it has not been greatly distinguished in its disastrous conflicts with the navy of Great Britain.

The Lycurgus mounted two large and four smaller guns, and had a complement of perhaps thirty men, a captain-commandant, a first, second, and third lieutenant, a surgeon, &c.

A slight incident occurred early in the voyage, characteristic of the French, which did not lead us to expect all the pleasure that we afterward realized. In returning on board after our reconnoisance of Syra, the small boat from which we were climbing up the sides of the Lycurgus was tossed about by the agitation of the waves, which beat against the side of the ship with considerable violence, and made our transit difficult as well as hazardous. This produced some hurry and flutter of spirits, and we hastened upon deck without noticing the respectful salutations of the officers and crew, with which, as we soon learned, it is customary to greet gentlemen and ladies coming on board. This was certainly a little awkward, but the cause of the oversight was apparent enough. The captain followed us to the cabin, and, with a gravity worthy of a more serious occasion, made us acquainted with the well-established custom. We apologized in due form, and were agreeably disappointed in finding him, in all our subsequent acquaintance, a gentleman of easy and unaffected dignity, and amiable deportment. I never made a more agreeable voyage; and I shall long remember the good ship Lycurgus and her gentlemanly commander with peculiar pleasure. I had previously made a number of voyages upon the Mediterranean, all of which were memorable for bad weather, seasickness, and indifferent fare and accommodations. Here everything was propitious. The deep blue sky was not obscured by a single cloud, day or night; and the temperature was delightfully soft and agreeable. It was, indeed, a luxury to breathe the air, and promenade the clean, broad deck, which was as steady as a parlour. Our fare was but too good; and the cabin, berths, staterooms, and beds perfectly fresh and clean. I afterward heard many complaints, chiefly from English travellers, of the French steamboats in the Levant, and of the Lycurgus in particular. The officers were said to be rude and overbearing, the servants in

attentive, the fare bad, the beds and table dirty and ill kept. All of this is so much at variance with my own experience, that I am compelled to make some allowance for national prejudices, which, after twenty-five years of peace and friendly intercourse, still exist in the minds of many Englishmen to such an extent as to render them quite blind to all the evidences of civilization and good-breeding that may chance to be exhibited by their French neighbours. They are especially slow to perceive that Frenchmen sometimes practise the virtues of cleanliness and good cookery.

## CHAPTER II.

First View of Alexandria.—Description of its Site.—The Pharos.—Ras el Tyn.—The New Harbour.—The Old Harbour.—Progress of liberal Opinions.—The Pacha's Palaces.—Windmills.—Pompey's Pillar.—Turco-Egyptian Fleet.—The Crescent.—Instructive Moral.—The Landing.—First Greeting of the Donkey Boys.—Streets.—Bazar.—Mohammedan Shops and Tradesmen.—Aspect of the Crowd.—Merchandise.—Style of Building.—Houses of the Poor.—The Frank Quarter.—Ibrahim Pacha.—Public Edifices.—Arsenals, Warehouses, &c.—Villas.—Population of Alexandria.—Trade.—Revival of Prosperity.—Canal.—Advantages of its Position.—Walls of the City.—Fortifications.

I ROSE very early on the morning of the 25th of December, and found the Lycurgus at rest off Alexandria, waiting for daylight to enter the harbour. We were in Africa. The city of Alexander and the Ptolemies, renowned through so many ages for its commerce and wealth, its arts and literature, rose before us at the distance of less than one mile; and the low, sandy shore of Egypt, the maritime border of the Delta, stretched out to the right and left till its dim outline was lost in the distant horizon.

The present city of Alexandria is built chiefly upon a

neck of land extending into the sea to the peninsula or long bank of sand which lies nearly parallel with the shore, distant half a mile or more, and forms the two ports. The celebrated Pharos of the age of the Ptolemies was situated near the eastern termination of this peninsula. Its site is occupied by a Turkish fort, which commands the entrance to the old port, east of the city. At the western extremity of the peninsula is Ras el Tyn, the Cape of Figs, around which is the winding and difficult passage that leads into the new port. This noble harbour, which is capacious and secure at all seasons, and possesses sufficient depth of water for the largest ships, is at present almost exclusively used. The old harbour is much exposed in bad weather, and only admits the smallest class of vessels. Before the reign of the present pacha, the ships of all Christian nations were confined to this dangerous roadstead, and none but the faithful were allowed ingress into the western port. This humiliating distinction is now abolished.

We entered the harbour a little after sunrise. The splendid new palace, or, rather, palaces of Mohammed Ali, were on our left upon the Ras el Tyn. They consist of the residence proper of the pacha, a separate edifice for his harem, and a third, designed, it is said, for the entertainment of strangers of high birth or office who may visit Egypt. On our right the shore was covered with windmills, to the number of perhaps 150 or 200. They are circular buildings, constructed of white stone, and employed by the pacha, who built them, for manufacturing flour for the army and navy, and other public establishments. From their position they are striking objects. Such a city of windmills is nowhere else to be seen, except at Lille, where 400 are employed in making oil. Pompey's Pillar is a mile or more from the beach, but in approaching the harbour it seems to stand among these windmills. Farther out at sea it is a noted landmark for sailors, towering high

above all other objects. We anchored nearly half a mile from the city, and in going ashore in a small boat, passed through the Turkish fleet, recently surrendered to the Pacha of Egypt by the stupendous treachery of the Ottoman admiral. The Egyptian fleet was moored in company with the Turkish, though occupying an outer position, apparently with a view to greater security, and to prevent the possible loss of a prize so noble in itself, though so basely won. The whole consisted of not less than sixty vessels of war. Twenty were ships of the line, including several of 140 and 120 guns, and about as many were large frigates. They were manned by nearly 40,000 sailors: the Turkish ships, it is said, mostly by Greeks; the Egyptian by sable Nubians. The decks appeared crowded with men, the small boats were darting in all directions, and nothing could be more lively and picturesque than this martial assemblage of various dialects, colours, and costumes. Nearly all the ships appeared to be new, and, to an unprofessional eye, none could be of more beautiful architecture or in finer condition. The Egyptian fleet has been constructed under the superintendence of French engineers; the Turkish ships by Mr. Rhodes, a citizen of the United States. These have been pronounced by the most competent judges to be unsurpassed by any specimens of naval architecture in existence. Such is the opinion expressed by Commodore Porter. I saw here, for the first time, the Turkish crescent, so long the terror of Europe, and the successful antagonist of the Cross upon so many bloody fields. I saw it now, the dishonoured flag of a fallen empire, ignominiously betrayed into the hands of a rebellious vassal. The sight was instructive: it was historical and prophetic. The combined fleet, which constituted the grandest display of maritime power I have anywhere seen, so fully engaged my attention that I bestowed little observation upon other objects; but I do not think there were many merchant vessels in the harbour.

The history of the betrayal of the Turkish fleet and its consequences, teaches an impressive lesson to unprincipled ambition. At the time of my arrival in Egypt, Mohammed Ali was exulting in the good fortune which, without an effort on his part beyond the agency of cunning and gold, had delivered into his hands the whole maritime power of the sultan, and laid open the Ottoman empire to his disciplined and superior armies. This splendid success, however, was the precursor of ruin. It awakened all Europe to the extent and profligacy of his designs, and the dangerous energy of his character; and in a few short months the world has seen him stripped of his conquests, and reduced to his original condition of a vassal and tributary to the grand seignor.

We had no sooner reached the land than a score of donkeys and their drivers rushed towards us from all quarters, and we were nearly trampled under their feet, as well as stunned with loud vociferations, before we were able, with the aid of a young Irishman connected with one of the hotels, to engage as many of these indispensable animals as were necessary to carry us through the narrow, muddy streets, to the quarter of the city inhabited by the Franks. Walking is quite out of the question with all who have any objection to being covered with mud, and jostled and trodden upon by loaded camels. One of these huge animals kneeled down upon the beach alongside our boat, and waited patiently till our baggage was piled upon his back and bound with ropes.

We then set off for our hotel, urging our way through dense crowds, whose strange looks and costumes assured us that we were at length among a race of men unlike anything we had seen before. We passed though the bazar, which I perambulated twice more in the course of the day. The streets are very narrow, and appear much more so from projecting casements on either side, which nearly meet.

vast edifice gives to this part of the city an air of amplitude and magnificence that is quite imposing. Ibrahim Pacha, son to the viceroy of Egypt, has built a number of houses or palaces of this description, which are let to a multitude of tenants, chiefly foreigners. He follows, in this instance, the example of his father, in combining the functions and gains of a thriving man of business with those of a ruler. Several very good public edifices, ornamental to the city, have been erected by the reigning pacha. The arsenals and palaces upon the Ras el Tyn, as well as several extensive hospitals and manufactories, are structures of this description. He has also built a number of warehouses to secure the cotton, wheat, and other products of the agricultural industry of the nation, nearly all of which pass into his hands. The barracks and other edifices connected with the military and marine service are also numerous and extensive. I was agreeably surprised, in my rides outside of the city, to see a number of tasteful country seats, with gardens well enclosed, and planted with ornamental and fruit-trees. Palm and orange trees especially are abundant. The villas are of recent construction, and indicate, I would fain hope, some progress in wealth and civilization among this degraded people.

Alexandria now contains 40,000 inhabitants, not including in the enumeration persons connected with the army and navy, who amount to nearly as many more. It engrosses, at present, the whole foreign commerce of Egypt, with the exception of an inconsiderable trade in rice still carried on by Rosetta and Damietta. It has risen rapidly into importance under the renovating and creative genius of Mohammed Ali. Forty years ago it was in ruins, without wealth or trade. From being, next to Rome, the most magnificent city in the world, as it was under the emperors, and even to the time of its falling under the dominion of the Saracens, it had declined, by the beginning of the present cen-

tury, into a wretched Arab village of 7000 or 8000 inhabitants. It had even lost the advantage of its position, by the disuse and final obstruction of the canal by which it communicated with the Nile and the interior of Egypt. It was thus completely isolated upon the verge of the great Libyan Desert, and no longer able to profit by the exuberant fertility with which the annual inundation so richly endows the valley of the Nile. The canal of Mahmoudieh, incomparably the most valuable of Mohammed Ali's improvements, has restored to Alexandria her lost intercourse, not only with Cairo and Upper Egypt, but with Arabia and India, and she now bids fair to regain a considerable share of her ancient commercial importance. Hers is the only safe harbour upon the whole Mediterranean coast, stretching from Mount Lebanon almost to the Straits of Gibraltar. It is the natural emporium of the commerce which, in better days, may be expected to spring up between Asia and Africa, and is directly upon the ancient thoroughfare between Europe and the Indies. With such advantages, it would seem that nothing but untoward political events is likely to check the tide of prosperity which is beginning to revisit this interesting city.

Alexandria is surrounded by a high wall, the work of the Saracens, and built about 600 years ago. It had fallen into a ruinous condition, and has been thoroughly repaired by the present pacha. Several forts have also been erected to defend the city from attacks by land, and the approaches from the sea are also guarded by strong fortifications. Only a small part of the area enclosed by the walls is occupied with buildings. The rest is covered with ruins, interspersed with a few verdant spots cultivated as gardens.

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## CHAPTER III.

Site and Remains of the Ancient City.—Fragments and Accumulations.—Ancient Arches.—Reservoirs.—Present Supply of Water.—Excavations and their Object.—Monuments.—Pompey's Pillar: its Shaft and Pedestal.—Ambition of Visiters.—Interference of the Government.—Misnomer.—Cleopatra's Needle.—Dimensions.—Preservation.—The Catacombs.—Probable Origin.—Cleopatra's Baths.—Funeral Processions.—Public Mourners.—Their Grief.—Conjugal Discipline.—Opinions of an Arab.—Visit to the Palace.—View of the Pacha.—Audience-room.—Dress and Person of Mohammed Ali.—His Ministers and other high Officers.—Their Origin and Career.—A purchase of Circassian Boys.

THE present city of Alexandria occupies a small part only of the site of the ancient, the ruins of which extend to a great distance south and east of the modern town. The traveller to Rosetta is in the midst of them for nearly four miles. They consist of hillocks and mounds, rising in some instances thirty or even fifty feet above the original surface, formed of the rubbish of ancient buildings, and increased by accumulations of sand. At the first view they seem to be only sandbanks, gradually formed from the sea and the desert. Fragments of stone, however, of plaster and terra-cotta, are seen even upon the surface, and extensive remains of stone and brick structures are soon found by excavations. These seem not to be made for any other purpose than to obtain materials for new constructions. These ancient stones, which are calcareous, are also burned into lime. A very large proportion of the existing houses and walls have evidently been built out of these ruins. The site of the ancient city was very little elevated above the level of the sea. The houses were built upon arches of brick, many of which remain entire, and are found at the depth of from twenty-five to thirty feet. These arches answered the double purpose of foundations for houses and reservoirs for the water of the Nile, which was conducted

into them in the time of the inundation. They contained a year's supply for all the wants of the city. Many ancient cisterns are still employed for the same purpose. The water, however, no longer flows into them through the old aqueducts, which have all been choked with rubbish or destroyed. It is brought from the canal on the backs of camels, at the season of the inundation, when the reservoirs are filled for the year, and it is drawn out for use by wells sunk through the rubbish.

The excavations for building materials seem at present to be carried on to a great extent, induced by the rather extensive improvements now in progress. Fine blocks of marble are frequently discovered, and many fragments of noble granite pillars are seen lying on the surface or half buried in the rubbish, which have been brought to light by these random researches. A more systematic and scientific examination would unquestionably lead to valuable discoveries. Perhaps it would throw new light upon the history of the arts in Egypt and the world. Such investigations, however, are not to be expected under the present government, which is incapable of acting upon the high motives that animate the scholar and antiquary in their pursuits.

Of all the splendid monuments which are known to have adorned ancient Alexandria, only a few remain. Of these, Pompey's Pillar and Cleopatra's Needle are the most important, and for their preservation we are indebted to their own solidity and massiveness, which have enabled them to resist the Vandalism of barbarians, and the cupidity of learned and civilized Europe.

The shaft of Pompey's Pillar, which consists of a single piece of red granite, is 73 feet in length by 27 feet 8 inches in circumference. The entire height of the monument, including pedestal and capital, is 98 feet 9 inches. The diameter of the top of the capital is 16 feet 6 inches.* The

* Wilkinson's Topography of Thebes, p. 289

pedestal is about 15 feet square by 12 in height. The capital is of a grayish stone, apparently of bad workmanship, and a good deal corroded by time. The pillar itself, with the exception of some injury near the base, retains its primitive integrity. The pedestal consists of several sorts of stone, the largest blocks of which are of the same kind of red granite with the shaft. It has been clumsily repaired, and deformed with a daubing of mortar to stop the interstices between the stones. It has a ruinous appearance, and at first sight some wonder is felt that it is able to support the immense weight of the pillar.

This beautiful monument is much defaced by the names of travellers inscribed upon it, mostly in a very clumsy manner, with paints of all hues. Its great elevation, one would think, should have secured the upper portions of it from these memorials of low ambition; but a cord, it seems, was sent over the top attached to a flying kite, by which a ladder of ropes was raised, that gave access to these aspiring visiters. It was a fashion with many travellers to write letters to their friends from this lofty pinnacle, and epistles are seen in several books dated on the top of Pompey's Pillar. Others held convivial parties there, consisting of ladies as well as gentlemen. Some inconveniences which grew out of this practice led the government to prohibit all persons from ascending to the top of the monument. Every one who sees this stupendous mass of stone in its present position, inquires how it was brought from the distant quarry and planted upon its pedestal. Such questions often occur in viewing the monuments of this peculiar country. They have never been satisfactorily answered. This should be called Diocletian's Pillar, having been reared in honour of that emperor.

Cleopatra's Needle is an obelisk of the same species of red granite with Pompey's Pillar, and doubtless from the same quarry at Syene. This monument is ascribed to

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Thotmes III., who reigned B.C. 1495. It was first reared in Heliopolis.* It is eight feet square at its base, or, rather, at the surface of the earth which has accumulated around the base, to what height is not known. Another obelisk of the same dimensions lies upon the ground at a small distance from the first: the length of this is 62 feet. Both are monoliths, and stood at the entrance of a magnificent temple. Several attempts have been made to transport the prostrate mass to Europe. It has been disinterred for this purpose, having been covered with rubbish to a considerable depth. This monument belongs to England. The one which is yet standing has been presented by the pacha, as we were told, to the King of France. These obelisks are much more massive than those which were transported to Rome by the emperors, or that which has recently been reared in the Place de Concorde at Paris; a circumstance that may prevent their deportation, and preserve to Egypt two of the most precious relics of its ancient civilization. Cleopatra's Needle is within the walls of the city. Pompey's Pillar is a short distance beyond them, in a southwest direction.

We rode on donkeys to the Catacombs, which are close to the sea, two miles south of the city. They are formed by excavations in the calcareous rock, of which the shore is here composed, and seem to have been of great extent. The entrance to most of them is quite obstructed with sand. We penetrated the interior of the most accessible with considerable difficulty. It is an extensive gallery, from which several passages diverge to the right and left, which are now choked up with earth and rubbish. This gallery terminates in a kind of circular temple, with a beautiful and well-proportioned dome. In the sides of this apartment are three deep alcoves, not unlike the chapels of a Catholic church, each of which has three recesses, one on either

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 288.

hand, and another in the rear wall, designed, no doubt, for the reception of human bodies.

Over the entrance of this rotunda are Doric ornaments, which leave little doubt that it is a work not more ancient than the foundation of the city. Probably the excavations were originally made to procure building stone, and subsequently formed into cemeteries for the dead.

Near the Catacombs, in the direction of the city, are other excavations, into which the waves of the sea rush with considerable force. They are called, it is not easy to conjecture for what reason, Cleopatra's Baths. If baths at all, they were confined and inconvenient; more likely to have been used by the plebeian multitude than by the luxurious mistress of Antony.

On our way to visit the Catacombs we encountered two funeral processions. The first was that of a small child. The body, in this instance, was deposited in a basket, and carried upon the shoulder by a man who preceded the rest of the company. A number of persons, perhaps a dozen men and women, followed in rather a disorderly manner, looking about with the utmost unconcern, but chanting in mournful strains. The other funeral was much more numerously attended. The body, which was that of an adult person, was carried by four bearers upon a bier. There was no coffin, none being used in burying the dead in this country; instead of which, the corpse was dressed in grave-clothes, and covered with a large shawl. It was borne with the head foremost. A number of shabby-looking men went before the bier in a sort of straggling procession, chanting as they advanced. It was followed by a train of perhaps twenty or thirty women, who were veiled, and clothed in white. Their dress and whole appearance were poor and mean, leaving one to conclude that the profession of mourner, to which they belonged, is not lucrative. They are said not to get more than one piaster—less than five cents

—per day. They sang a dirge in very melancholy and piercing tones, and their attitudes and gesticulations were those of vehement and overpowering grief. They tore their loose, disordered hair, and smote their breasts with frantic violence, carefully avoiding, however, the infliction of serious injury, by staying their convulsive hands before they quite reached the head or bosom. The rending of the garments was done with similar violence, but with the same harmless results. A number of them carried in their hands blue handkerchiefs or strips of cloth, which they alternately stretched across the shoulders or back of the neck, and then raised with both hands high above the head, jerking them with much apparent violence, though the worthless rags resisted their efforts and received no damage. These funeral trains were going from the mosque, where religious ceremonies had been performed, to the cemetery outside of the city.

This was all ludicrous enough. Another exhibition, equally characteristic of the manners of the country, which we met with in the same excursion, was much more serious. We were stopped by a large crowd, which quite filled the street near one of the public warehouses. I heard heavy blows, followed by piercing cries, in the midst of the throng of rather shabby-looking people. Urging on my donkey to the spot, I saw an athletic man inflicting merciless blows upon a female with a heavy stick. She cried out piteously, but without any effect. The crowd looked on with interest and apparent satisfaction, and no one attempted to interfere. I inquired of the young Arab whom we had employed as a dragoman what was the meaning of this outrage. He answered, with an air of great indifference, in his bad English, "It is an Arab man licking his woman." I asked him if this was a common practice. He answered, "Yes; the wife do bad, and the Arab lick 'em." I afterward learned that this sort of domestic discipline is

universal in this country. No one supposes it is wrong, or that the conjugal relation can exist on better terms. A European lady, resident in Alexandria, who happened to be with us at the time, informed us that she had lately inquired of a favourite servant after the health of his wife. Very well, he said—better than common the last two days, since he had given her a good flogging. She told him that Englishmen did not whip their wives. He replied it was indispensable to whip Arab women, otherwise their husbands could not live with them; they were not like Frank women.

We were, of course, anxious to see Mohammed Ali, and the Danish consul, who acts for the American consul, Mr. Gliddon, now living in Cairo, had agreed to present us. He sent us a notice, however, before the hour appointed, that he was ill, and unable to keep his appointment. It was too late to make other arrangements, and we went to the palace in company with two English gentlemen, one of them belonging to the marine service of the pacha, with the hope of obtaining at least a glimpse of his highness, and we were gratified with the sight of this remarkable man, though not admitted to the honour of an audience. He was in his public reception-room, a splendid apartment, with marble floors, and a lofty, painted ceiling. A very sumptuous chandelier hung in the centre, and a broad divan, covered with crimson velvet and deeply fringed with silk, extended around three sides of the room. We entered an antechamber, or, rather, a vast hall, which was open to all, also paved with large squares of marble, and furnished with a fine chandelier and a divan, but of less costly materials. A large door, leading into the audience-room, stood open, and gave us a good view of the pacha, who stood at the lower end of the apartment, conversing with his prime minister. There might be thirty or forty persons present, all standing, and engaged occasionally in conversation among themselves, and interchanging now and then a brief word with their chief.

These were his ministers, the officers of his household, and the chief functionaries of the army and navy. Several Franks, employés of his highness, entered and departed during our stay.

Mohammed Ali was dressed like his ministers and military officers. He wore a high red cap without the turban. Several persons present wore the turban around the cap, leaving the upper part only and the tassel in sight. His loose Turkish trousers, of blue cloth, extended to the knee, below which they fitted close to the leg and ankle, and were ornamented with rows of buttons reaching about half way to the knee. His stockings were of white cotton, and his sharp-pointed slippers of red morocco. The outside dress was a gown or tunic of black silk, hanging below the knee, open before, and very loose. His enormous sleeves were open from the wrist nearly to the elbow, and swung loosely. Under this tunic was a close-sleeved jacket of splendid colours, and richly embroidered before. A sumptuous variegated girdle was wound several times about the body, just above the hips, and carelessly tied. He wore a cimeter, as did all the high personages present.

In person the pacha is perhaps below the middle stature, rather thick set, though not corpulent. He has an ample forehead, though I could discover nothing remarkable in its development. His nose is rather large and prominent, the mouth small. His beard, which is perfectly white, hangs down upon his bosom, and, though rather thin and scanty for an Oriental prince, it gives him, in the eyes of one a little accustomed to Turkish visages, a venerable air. His eyes are dark and piercing, and planted deep in their sockets. I was too remote to catch their peculiar expression. Everybody seemed at ease in his presence. They addressed him without ceremony; and the whole spectacle had a practical air beyond what I expected to see. I looked upon Mohammed Ali with a more lively regard than I have

usually felt on beholding the monarchs of more civilized and powerful countries. I experienced a measure of the same peculiar interest in seeing the distinguished men of his court. Their history has in it much of the same romantic incident and vicissitude. With very few exceptions, they were slaves originally brought from Georgia and Circassia, and bought in early boyhood by the pacha. They were carefully educated for the public service, and then promoted to such military or civil posts as they were thought qualified to fill. There they had ample opportunities for the display of talent and zeal, under the watchful eye of their master. Those who distinguished themselves were promptly promoted to high offices, where their pay and appointments are upon a very liberal scale, it being the policy of the pacha to reward the services of his high officers very munificently. The common soldier and sailor, and the labourer, are left to feel the pressure of his system. Those who merit promotion by good conduct have much reason to be satisfied, and are said to be strongly attached to the interests of the pacha.

The practice of educating Circassian slaves is still continued, though it is no longer the exclusive policy. A gentleman of high respectability told me that he saw, only a few days previous to our visit, twenty-three boys presented for sale to the pacha, who purchased them in his presence. I have seldom seen such a number of noble-looking men as those who surrounded the viceroy at the time of our call at the palace.

## CHAPTER IV.

Hotels in Alexandria and the East.—Coffee-houses.—Preparation for a Voyage to Cairo.—Sharpers.—Advice to Travellers.—Departure for Cairo.—Voyage to Atfeh.—Canal of Mahmoudieh.—Rapid Construction.—Great Mortality.—Route of the Canal.—Lake Mareotis.—Lake Madieh.—Ancient Fertility of the Precincts of Alexandria.—The Delta.—The Wheat-crop.—Egyptian Canal Packet-boat.—Unskilfulness of the Sailors.—Incidents.—Camels.—English Consul.—Grants of Land to Foreigners.—Tenure of Land.—Oppression of the Fellahs.—Policy of the Pacha.—Privileges of the new Proprietors.—Mr. Larkin's Improvements.—Prejudices and Suspicions of the Fellahs.—New Products and Implements.—Youthful Labourers.—Sea Island Cotton.—Statistics.—Anecdote.—Summary Courtship and Wholesale Marriage.—A Singular Request.—Atfeh.—Frank Agent and his Boat.—Our Fellow-passenger.—Vermin.—Navigation of the Nile.—Mohammedan Tombs and Beggars.—Walks on Shore.—Egyptian Agriculture.—Crops.—Alarm of the Fellahs.—Persian Wheels.—Irrigation.—Plough.—Oxen.—Villages.—Cottages.—Furniture.—Dress of the Fellahs.—Gross Habits.—Wild Fowl.—Domestic Animals.—Adverse Winds.—A Man Overboard.—Narrow Escape.—First Sight of the Pyramids.—Completion of the Voyage and Arrival at Cairo.

During our stay in Alexandria I lodged at Key's hotel, which is situated upon the great square in the Frank Quarter. The location is convenient and agreeable, and this hotel is probably as good as any other in the city. The traveller, however, who visits the Levant must not expect anything in the way of accommodations equal to even third-rate houses in Europe and the United States. A want of cleanliness, which pervades everything, is the great evil. The sleeping rooms are decidedly bad, and badly kept, and the table is invariably supplied with inferior articles of food, indifferently cooked and served up. The Frank coffee-houses which I visited are worse than the hotels—disgustingly filthy, and provided with the meanest fare. I did not enter any of the Turkish establishments, which are very

numerous, and probably better, at least in the essential article of coffee.

Fortunately, it is only in Alexandria and Cairo that the traveller meets with such annoyances. Beyond the walls of these two cities there are no hotels, good or bad, and he is left to supply himself as well as he is able with lodging, shelter, food, and attendance. It is customary for persons about to proceed up the Nile to Middle and Upper Egypt, to hire servants and lay in provisions, cooking utensils, bedding, &c., at Alexandria. There are a number of Frank shops where everything necessary for the voyage is kept on sale, and the stranger is likely to be welcomed, even before he sets his foot upon the shore, by a number of obliging persons, who know far better than he does himself what he will need upon his long journey, and who are anxious to lead him to the *only* shop where his wants can be supplied. We purchased a small outfit of Mr. ——, an Englishman, upon his informing us that nothing of the kind could be got in Cairo, or any part of Egypt above Alexandria. We found, on our arrival at Cairo, that this same gentleman had an agent there, who sells precisely the same articles, and, farther, that he had exacted from us at least fifty per cent. more than articles equally good cost in the bazars of Cairo. Travellers ought to pay no attention to the representations of these sharks, however respectable and plausible in appearance. The first care should be to engage a trustworthy dragoman, with whose aid they may purchase whatever they desire in the bazars, with the double advantage of making a considerable saving in prices, and of getting a good lesson upon the customs and manners of the people.

We hired two servants in Alexandria to accompany us up the river: Selim, who speaks English, French, and Italian very imperfectly indeed, but well enough to answer our purpose, at twelve dollars per month. He was to act as interpreter, cook, and general servant. The other man, whom

we engaged at six dollars per month, was to act under his orders as an assistant. Having completed the arrangements for our journey to Cairo, we left Alexandria December 28, and embarked in a packet-boat which plies between Alexandria and Atfeh, upon the Canal of Mamoudieh, so called in honour of the late sultan. We accomplished this part of our voyage in one day, having arrived at Atfeh a little after dark.

This canal is forty-eight miles long, fifteen feet deep, and always ninety, often two hundred feet wide. The region being perfectly level, there was no occasion for locks. This is one of the improvements for which Egypt is most indebted to Mohammed Ali. It was effected, however, like too many of his enterprises, without regard to the sufferings and injustice which it might inflict on the people. When the route had been surveyed and the undertaking resolved upon, a levy was made, almost en masse, of more than 200,000 fellahs, as the peasantry of Egypt are called, who were summarily dragged from their homes and employments to labour for the public. In six weeks the excavations were completed, but 20,000 persons, some accounts say 40,000, had been swept away by diseases produced by incessant labour and exposure in a malignant climate.

The canal commences about two miles from Alexandria, close to Lake Mareotis, along the shore of which it runs for several miles. On the opposite side, and at a short distance, is Lake Madieh, which stretches northward to the Mediterranean Sea, from which it receives its supply of salt water. These two lakes approach so near each other as to leave, in some places, little more ground than was necessary for the construction of the canal. During the invasion of Egypt by the English, they formed a channel through this isthmus, by which Lake Mareotis was filled with salt water, and many tracts of arable land, as well as a number of villages, were inundated. The sea-water, which greatly aggravated

the previous insalubrity of Alexandria and its vicinity, has been shut out by the present pacha, and Lake Mareotis has been restored to its former condition of a vast lagoon, partially covered with fresh water in the rainy season, but dry during the greater part of the year. A few cultivated spots are seen near the city, along the shore of the lake and canal, but, for the most part, the region is buried in sand, and really forms a part of the great Libyan Desert. When ancient Alexandria stretched from its double harbour to Lake Mareotis, these shores were famed for gardens and vineyards.

After proceeding two hours or more through low, marshy grounds and lagoons, at this season mostly dry, we entered the rich, alluvial lands of the Delta. We were at once in the midst of green fields. The soil is of a dark chocolate colour, very adhesive when wet, and of great depth. The earth excavated from the canal, and lying on either side of it in immense heaps, is a rich mould, and uniform in its appearance. The peasants were now engaged in sowing wheat. The season began some weeks before, and much of the land was covered with young wheat, which shoots forth from the earth with surprising vigour and rapidity. A great deal of the land in the neighbourhood of the canal is tilled in rice. This is inferior to that of Carolina—why, it is not easy to conjecture, as the situation is favourable for irrigation, and the soil, as well as climate, are as favourable as possible.

We travelled in a boat drawn by horses—I doubt not the only one in Egypt or in Africa. It plies between Alexandria and Atfeh, nominally three times in a week, but without much regularity, and, I fear, with but little encouragement. This enterprise has been got up by a company of Franks. It is a very commodious conveyance, equal to the ordinary packets on our canals. Breakfast and dinner are supplied on board, in the European style, though at an enormous

price. There were but few passengers, and we were told by a gentleman concerned that it was a losing business. The boat is managed by Arabs, who certainly conduct everything in their department in the clumsiest manner. So simple an affair as meeting a boat, of which many were on their way to Alexandria, was attended with infinite bustle, and even some hazard. Instead of permitting the towline to drop into the water and pass under the keel, as is the practice on our canals, or of loosing it from the boat and allowing it to drag by, our barbarian crew always contrived to catch the approaching vessel under the prow or by the mast. If light, it was turned about with violence, and in danger of being capsized or sunk. If of sufficient size to present some resistance, our horses were dragged into the canal. Every man was then on the alert, which was chiefly manifested by loud vociferations from all points. The usual remedy was to disengage the horses as soon as possible. This was the fruitful source of new disasters. The traces were short, so that the swingle-tree always fell upon the horses' heels. Some of them took no notice of this, but stopped till things were set right; others kicked with the utmost violence, precipitating the Arab riders from their backs into the canal, or down the opposite side of the embankment. Many times the horses ran away at their utmost speed, and only stopped at the next station-house, often several miles ahead.

We passed during the day a long train of camels, with their packsaddles and drivers, which were proceeding along the towpath of the canal to one of the pacha's villages for winter-quarters. They belonged to the government. I counted 140, forming a train full a mile in length, upon the right bank of the canal.

During this part of the voyage we had the company of Mr. Larking, British consul in Alexandria. He has resided in Egypt for many years, and is well acquainted with the

present condition of the country, as well as its past history. I derived some interesting facts from this intelligent and affable gentleman, which I shall here present to the reader. He has received several grants of land from the pacha within the last two or three years, embracing, in the whole, about 5000 acres, and several villages, with their inhabitants, who are transferred with the soil. This is a new feature in the policy of the pacha, which, it is to be hoped, will lead to valuable improvements. Several Europeans have obtained similar grants, which, however, are not bestowed indiscriminately, but only upon persons known to Mohammed Ali, and who enjoy his confidence. Grants are also readily made to Turks and other subjects of the viceroy, but these show but little taste for agricultural enterprises, and are not inclined to put their capital in a form so tangible as are the implements, livestock, and products of tillage. A large part of the soil of Egypt belongs to the pacha, and from time immemorial it has appertained to the sovereign authority. For the use of it the cultivator pays a fixed amount, commonly a share of the crop. It may, however, be paid in money. This was the ancient usage, and it is still the legal system, though in point of fact it has degenerated into one much more irregular and oppressive. The whole product of the country is, with very slight exceptions, at the disposition of the government, and the cultivator only retains of the fruit of his industry barely enough to support existence. This deplorable result of a system which certainly is neither paternal nor wise at best, is produced in the following manner. Large and irresponsible powers are given to the superintendents of the finances for collecting the pacha's rents, which may amount to from $1 50 to $2 50 per acre; a heavy imposition, when the price of commodities is considered. These powers are universally and shamefully abused. The amount levied by the government is the smallest part of the contribution ex-

acted from the peasant. The higher agents of the treasury appropriate large sums to themselves; and the collectors, who come in contact with the people, and upon whom, in their several spheres, the absolute authority of their superiors is devolved, always contrive to share in the plunder of the unhappy peasantry. It is not from occasional dishonesty that the people suffer. Peculation is universal among the officers of government. The tenant is, of course, unable to meet demands which are multiplied and augmented till the most unlimited cupidity can find nothing more to plunder. He usually stands, therefore, in his accounts with the tax-gatherer, a debtor to the government, not only for the current year, but for the arrears of former years. The whole product of the land thus becomes subject to the disposal of the pacha. Something must, however, be left for the subsistence of the cultivator, and he must be supplied with seed for new agricultural operations. These he has from the government upon a credit, which perpetuates this stupendous system of grinding oppression, and of abject, hopeless poverty. If in any instance a village or an individual, by means of uncommon efforts or of an abundant harvest, has succeeded for once in paying all claims, they are held responsible for some delinquency in their neighbours. The next village, or another peasant, has not paid, and the urgent demands of the government must be satisfied. Thus all stimulus to industry is destroyed, and the whole agricultural population is depressed to one level of absolute and helpless poverty. If there is a pair of oxen, a cow, or a camel, or any other property in the shape of stock on the land, they belong to the government, having been alienated by the process I have described, and they are left as a loan with the peasant, to increase his taxes, and to produce the means of future exactions.

Such is the actual condition of the agriculture of Egypt. This is the relation of the cultivator to the government. It

is often represented that Mohammed Ali has adopted this system from choice, wishing to engross all the agriculture and trade of the country in his own person. I was assured, on the contrary, on the best authority, that he regrets this ruinous state of things, without knowing how to apply the remedy; not, perhaps, through any very tender concern at the sufferings of the peasantry, but because the vices of the system are becoming apparent, in the diminution of agricultural products, and a consequent falling off of the revenue. He speaks freely of the distress of the people and the misconduct of the tax-gatherers, but thinks the evil too deeply rooted to be removed or even encountered at present, when great political questions engross his attention, and the necessity of keeping up large expenditures is imperative. When his relations with Turkey and Europe shall be fixed on a satisfactory basis, he hopes to reduce his expensive establishments, and provide for the permanent prosperity of the country. I have been assured by two European gentlemen who have the best means of becoming acquainted with the sentiments of this singular potentate, that he is very sensible of the imperfections of his internal administration, and is very desirous of finding a remedy for them. It is in accordance with these views that he has granted lands to a number of Franks within the last year or two, and he observes the progress of their new modes of managing the soil and the peasantry with lively interest.

No other condition is annexed to these grants than the payment to the pacha of the annual land-tax. Beyond this the government has no pecuniary claim, either upon the land or the peasantry, who by this arrangement are at once relieved from the endless exactions and oppressions of the tax-gatherer. They are responsible for their rent to the new landlord, and it is hardly possible that they should not be gainers by a change which, at the worst, gives them one instead of a host of oppressors. Everything depends upon

the character of the proprietor, who succeeds, in effect, to all the powers of which the agents of the treasury have been divested. He has even a civil and criminal jurisdiction over the people who occupy his estate. Mr. L—— applied to the magistrates on the occurrence of some disorder in his villages. They refused to interfere, and informed him that his powers were ample and exclusive over his own people. He subsequently established tribunals for the trial of causes and the punishment of offenders. He often sits himself as judge, in order to give as much solemnity as possible to the proceedings, and one of the janizaries of the consulate then officiates as executive officer. Petty thefts are the offences of most frequent occurrence.

After having assumed the payment of all dues to the government, and thus fully released his people from all interference from the tax-gatherer, Mr. L—— settled the relation between tenant and landlord on an intelligible and permanent basis. He furnishes the necessary livestock and implements of husbandry, and receives one half of the produce. All things considered, this is a liberal arrangement, highly advantageous to the cultivator. The cruel oppressions of the former system have, however, left a deep impression upon the minds of the peasantry, which is no slight hinderance to the introduction of meliorations. Mr. L—— was met, in his attempts at improvement, with uniform distrust, and his benevolent plans were opposed as parts of a new and far-reaching scheme of personal aggrandizement. Much of the land, though of the greatest fertility, was uncultivated, and had been so for centuries. When the fellahs were urged to plough a larger field, they uniformly declined, alleging that it was useless, as they could, by no possibility, secure more than a bare subsistence. When told that by increasing their exertions they might get more money and accumulate wealth, they were incredulous, and said they should only earn money for the men in office, who would

not fail to come and rob them whenever their condition should be visibly improved. These objections, which are affecting comments upon the tyranny under which these poor people have groaned for ages, were gradually overcome by persuasion, kindness, and authority, and a large proportion of waste land has been brought into cultivation. The rest was to be sown during the current winter. Considerable difficulty was experienced in attempting to introduce better management and improved implements. The peasants excavate with a pickaxe, though the earth is soft and very favourable to the use of the spade. In making a ditch, one man stands at the bottom, loosens the soil with the pickaxe, and scrapes it into a basket. He then hands it to a second, stationed upon the verge, who pours it upon the earth at his feet. Ten men, in this way, could not perform the work of one skilful labourer. The earth excavated from the great canal was removed in this way in baskets, carried upon the heads of the fellahs. Mr. L—— could not, however, induce his people to use the spade. In order to demonstrate its superiority, he worked with it himself, and explained the advantage of removing the soil by a single operation from its bed to the side of the ditch. All would not do, though he offered double wages to those labourers who would consent to adopt the new instrument. Not one accepted his proposal. They feared some hidden design, and, besides, why should they deviate from a mode of operation so ancient in their country? More time and a longer experience of the benevolent intentions of their new landlord will no doubt overcome greater obstacles than this. Mr. L—— has ordered carts and ploughs from England. The former are unknown here, though no part of the world is more favourable to their use than the alluvial plains of the Nile. Camels and donkeys are the beasts of burden. The sheaves of wheat are piled upon their backs to be transported to the threshing-floor, which, in a climate that

parches vegetation to a crisp in the time of harvest, must be attended with great waste. The Egyptian plough is a clumsy, primitive contrivance, leaving room enough for improvement. The peasants on Mr. L——'s estate have begun to appreciate the advantages of their new position, and make evident advances in industry. Those of several of the neighbouring villages have applied to him, with many entreaties, to become the proprietor of their farms, and to extend to them the benefits of his protection. He is at present engaged in building on his new estate, and employs several hundred people in this way. He pays, on an average, less than one piaster per day for labour. I observed a great many girls and boys, ten or twelve years of age, as well as men, at work on his improvements. They receive the same wages as the adults, and are even more valuable labourers in all but the heaviest work. They are more cheerful and active, not having yet learned, as their parents have, from bitter experience, that their condition is not likely to be made better by toil, and that the savings of industry only invite robbery and oppression. Mr. L—— is introducing olive plantations, as well as several other new species of agricultural products, upon his estate. This fact is interesting, not only as an economical improvement, but as showing his confidence in the permanency of the government and in the safety of property. Some attempts have been made to obtain the seed of the Sea Island cotton, to which the soil and climate of Egypt seem adapted, but hitherto without success. Once a quantity of seed was obtained, but none of it vegetated upon being planted, and this fact, together with the failure of many applications made through American merchants to obtain the means of naturalizing this valuable plant in Egypt, has produced the impression that our countrymen wish to monopolize its growth. I assured Mr. L—— that no such illiberal spirit dishonoured the Carolina planter, and I hope to furnish him with pal-

pable evidence of the erroneous impressions which have prevailed upon this subject.

As it is very difficult to obtain authentic statistical information with regard to this country, I set down here the result of two or three inquiries which I addressed to Mr. Larking. He thinks the pacha's army may consist of 180,000 men, his revenue of £4,000,000 sterling. Mr. Waghorn, who has also much knowledge of Egypt and its public affairs, estimates the former at 220,000, the latter at £6,000,000. The agricultural products of Egypt are diminishing.

Mr. L—— related an anecdote illustrative of the character of Mohammed Ali and of the manners of the country. He received it from a bey, who himself obtained a wife by the method which the story describes. About three years since the pacha's health declined, and he resorted to the advice of his physicians. They recommended a suitable regimen, and, among other things, the greatest moderation in his pleasures. He soon afterward resolved to reduce his harem, and to dispose of the supernumerary inmates of it among the officers of his court and army. In pursuance of this design, he ordered all the unmarried men who were of sufficient merit and rank to receive this token of his favour, to assemble at an appointed hour in the garden of one of his palaces. They were advised of his gracious intentions, and properly arranged for the mode of procedure which had been chosen as most favourable to a judicious selection of husbands for the fair brides. The old lady who had the care of the harem, from a position where she was concealed from view, examined the physiognomy and port of each of the assembled bachelors, and, without farther ceremony, wrote down the name of the lady whom she thought best suited to a man of such developments. The assembly was then dismissed, and each man, on going to his house, received his bride. This honour was not without its dis-

advantages, since, if it should unaccountably happen that a man was not exactly suited in his new wife, he was deprived of the distinguishing privilege of other Mussulmen. He had taken her for better or for worse, as no prudent courtier would incur the displeasure of the pacha by divorcing a wife received under such circumstances. The pacha has now only three wives, who are elderly women, and have little influence over him. He seldom visits his harem; and, what seems unnatural enough, according to our mode of thinking, the old ladies, who enjoy the distinguished honour of having been retained by him when the rest were disposed of in the manner above described, use all their influence to induce him to replenish his harem with young women. He is not disposed to comply with their request, and often speaks of his improved health and comfort under the present arrangement. The women married to the courtiers were not his principal wives, but properly concubines, always inferior to those who enjoy the dignity of wife. These, among other prerogatives, have the management of the younger women of the harem. The mother of Ibrahim Pacha was retained. Mohammed Ali gave a liberal dower with each of the discarded women.

We reached Atfeh, the terminus of the canal, at the end of a very interesting day. The night, which was excessively dark, had already closed upon us, and the rain fell in torrents. We slept on board the boat which brought us from Alexandria, and rose early in the morning to make preparations for proceeding on our voyage up the Nile, which we were now to enter. Passengers and cargo must be transhipped at this point, as the canal does not enter the river, but stops a short distance from its western bank. We had a letter of introduction from Mr. Waghorn to his agent resident here, who readily engaged to procure us a boat, which he succeeded in doing in a short time. As he assured us it was a first-rate vessel, we made no difficulty of

paying the high price of 350 piasters, though 200 or 250 is the usual hire. Having shifted our baggage and stores on board, we set sail about 9 A.M.

Atfeh is a large village, with a population, I should conjecture, of not less than 5000, but wretchedly built of mud and sun-dried bricks. The narrow, filthy streets were rendered nearly impassable by deep mud, which had been diluted into a thin, adhesive mortar by the copious rains, and the trampling of the men and beasts employed in loading and unloading the numerous boats. This disagreeable place must rise to some importance, from its position at a point where the immense agricultural products of Egypt are all transhipped in their way to market.

We soon discovered that our obliging Frank friend to whom we had brought the letter of introduction had imposed upon us shamefully in furnishing the boat. We were entitled to its exclusive occupancy, but found he had given us a fellow-passenger in the person of a filthy, disgusting old Jew, who seemed to be the prey of loathsome disease. He took a position just in front of us, where he was always in sight, environed with his outfit of old clothes, dirty quilts and mattresses, onions, bread, curds, &c., forming, together with his doleful chanting, such a collection as no man tolerably endowed with the five senses would voluntarily endure in his neighbourhood. We ordered him ashore as an intruder, but he refused to go, claiming a right on board at least as good as ours, and affirming that he had paid his passage to the Frank agent. This the rais or captain also attested, and the most we could obtain was his removal to a less conspicuous and more distant position. We also found that our vessel was, by the same authority, deeply laden with merchandise, which not only retarded its speed, but ensured the presence of a superabundance of the several species of vermin which are naturalized in this land of plagues. Our cabin literally swarmed with cockroaches

and other insects, which blackened the ceiling, and covered every article of bedding, clothing, and food by thousands. After many vain attempts to rid ourselves of these annoyances, we gradually learned a lesson of endurance and resignation, which we subsequently found many occasions to practice.

Boats upon the Nile are propelled by sails. The wind begins to blow from the north, at this season, about 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning, and dies away at sunset. It blows from the south during the night, when navigators upward bound are compelled to lie by, and moor their vessels under the bank of the river.

The day after leaving Atfeh, December 30th, we passed a considerable town upon the bank of the river, near which was the tomb of a canonized sheik. A number of the people collected on the shore as we approached, and, following the boat, begged for bread and money. They wore green turbans, and their whole appearance was very superior to that of the peasants we had previously seen. I inquired of our dragoman if these people were driven to beg by want, and learned that they do it as a religious duty. They solicit alms in the name of the saint, of all boatmen, and promise to obtain his intercessions with the Prophet that the voyage of those who give may be prosperous. We subsequently saw many of these tombs, which are all similar in their construction, being small quadrangular buildings hardly more than 10 or 15 feet square, built of white stone, or bricks plastered or whitewashed, and surmounted with a dome. They are commonly just outside of the village, but sometimes within it. We were always told, on inquiry, that these were tombs of holy sheiks.

I frequently landed and walked on the shore to observe the farms and modes of agriculture. Nothing can exceed the fertility of the soil. It is of a chocolate colour, as is also the water of the Nile at this season. The principal

crop is wheat, now recently sown and being sown. There were also fields of cotton, beans, clover, flax, and Indian corn. I saw some men near a small village employed in husking corn, and, on approaching them, found the grain to be of very inferior size and quality. It resembles the refuse of the New-England crop. We tried at this village to buy some fowls, of which we saw a great many, but the people said they had none for sale. They seemed afraid, and retired when we approached them. Selim said our presence alarmed them, as they thought we would take their property without paying for it, as the employés of the government are accustomed to do.

I had many opportunities of examining the machines employed by the fellahs to raise water for the irrigation of their fields. A pit or well is sunk near the river, in the highest part of the bank. The water which flows in from the river is raised to the surface by a wheel, commonly turned by a buffalo, upon the principle of a horsemill in the United States. Upon this wheel is a band reaching to the bottom of the well, to which are attached a great number of earthen jars, that fill as they successively reach the water by the revolutions of the wheel, and are emptied into a cistern as they are brought to the surface of the earth. From this cistern, commonly made of clay, the water is conducted in shallow trenches to the field where it is wanted. Lands which are inundated by the Nile want irrigating in the dry season to enable them to bear a second crop, and this is indispensable when the ground lies too high to be reached by the annual flood.

The Egyptian plough is a simple implement, consisting of a long beam which reaches the yoke, one handle, a kind of double mouldboard that divides the furrow, and turns it on both sides, with a clumsy iron point. It is always drawn by oxen. These are tall, with short horns and long legs, straight and lean. They are very active, and seem to

be serviceable. The yoke is straight, and from two to three yards in length.

The banks of the Nile are studded with villages, mostly situated close to the river, upon elevations which are not covered by the inundations. These mounds or hillocks are evidently artificial, and are probably but the accumulations made by former villages, demolished by the action of the river or of the seasons. The cottages are built of bricks dried in the sun, usually containing an intermixture of straw, to make the cohesion stronger. They are, almost without exception, only one story high, have usually but one room, a clay floor, a roof of palm-leaves or straw plastered over with mud. As to furniture, I saw nothing but a few earthen jars, and sometimes an old mat. In some of these hovels there is a narrow, low platform raised upon two or three sides to sit and sleep upon, but more frequently I did not see any such convenience, the mud floor serving for both of these purposes. These villages appear ruinous, many cottages, though still occupied, having a side or one corner demolished by the weather. The streets or lanes are only of sufficient width to allow a man or donkey to pass. The filth within and without is beyond all conception.

The dress of the peasants is simple, consisting only of a shirt of coarse cotton reaching a little below the knees. Some of them wear a second garment of the same form and dimensions over the first. This is of coloured cotton, commonly blue. Sometimes it is made of a very coarse brown woollen stuff, which is much worn by the boatmen as an overcoat. Almost every man has a red cap, with at least a long strip of coarse cotton, commonly a very cheap cotton shawl, twisted around it by way of a turban. The head is closely shaved, with the exception of a tuft of hair upon the crown, and a cap of white cotton is usually worn under the red, below which a narrow border of it is commonly seen. Shoes of any sort are uncommon.

Nothing at first struck us so disagreeably as the utter inattention of these people to those rules of propriety and modesty which, in all civilized countries, and even among barbarians, Nature herself seems to have ordained, so that they are obeyed instinctively. The fellahs seem not to be endowed with a sense of shame. Our sailors, as well as the people whom we saw along the banks of the Nile, raised their clothes as high as their arms, or threw them off entirely, whenever it was convenient either for the purpose of wading to the shore, for climbing into the boat, or for any other purpose. The presence of countrywomen, or of Frank ladies and gentlemen, operated no restraint upon them. I never entered a village without meeting the most disgusting spectacles. Even in the streets of Alexandria I was perpetually shocked with exhibitions which in other countries are not obtruded upon the public eye.

We saw multitudes of wild-fowl, especially ducks and geese, during our voyage to Cairo. They appeared in immense flocks, and were, no doubt, visitants from colder regions, come to winter upon the abundant cornfields of Egypt. I observed very few sheep or goats, and cows are not numerous, though in some places droves of cattle, to the number of forty or fifty, were grazing near the river, tied to stakes driven into the ground. Donkeys and camels—the former mostly for the saddle, but used also to transport light articles; the latter always as beasts of burden—abound in this part of Egypt. Everything is piled upon them which employs carts and wagons elsewhere.

We were much baffled by changes of the wind, which usually blows with great regularity from the north in the daytime, and in the opposite direction during the night. On the third day from Atfeh it became more settled, and we had a strong breeze from the north, which enabled us to prosecute our voyage several hours after sunset. I was sitting upon the after-deck, near the helmsman, where I spent many

hours every day, to enjoy a view of the lovely green fields, which were not visible from any other part of the boat, as well as to avoid the annoyances of the cabin. The sailors were asleep, and everything quiet in the boat, when I was suddenly startled by a loud splash in the water just behind me. The alarm was given that a man had fallen overboard. He had gone to sleep upon the deck near me, and rolled into the river like a log. A scene of indescribable confusion ensued, which, little accustomed as we were to the disorderly and boisterous manner in which everything is done by these people, gave us great anxiety and alarm. The boat, which was under a press of sail, was run directly to land. The sailors called aloud to the man in the water, who at length answered from a great distance below, having been rapidly borne along by the strong current, while we had been ascending the stream with still greater velocity. They ran along the bank till they were opposite to him, and swam to his relief, carrying an oar to aid in supporting him to the shore. We had soon the pleasure of seeing him safe on board. The poor fellow had resigned himself to his fate, after making some ineffectual efforts to turn out of the current towards the bank. He said he had commended himself to Allah, and was waiting for death, when his shipmates came to his rescue. There was, perhaps, more apparent than real danger, as these people are amphibious, and about as much in their element when in the river as on the land. I was not yet acquainted with their aquatic habits, and was truly thankful when I saw the poor fellow safe.

Upon rising early on the morning of the first of January, I first saw the Pyramids, still far to the south. They appeared at that distance to be of no great elevation, and so exactly answered to the views given in books of travels, that I seemed to have seen them often.

In a few hours more we had completed our voyage. We landed on the left bank of the Nile, near Shoubra, four miles

from Cairo, being unable to reach Boulak, the usual point of debarcation. The river makes a sudden bend here, and was agitated by a violent wind. Shoubra is only a small village—indeed, it is a mere landing-place, within a little more than a quarter of a mile of the palace of the Pacha of Egypt, where he chiefly resides. The road to Cairo passes through the alluvial plain, here well cultivated in wheat, gardens, and clover, now of a deep luxuriant green. We proceeded along a broad avenue of venerable sycamores, whose spreading branches meet over the head of the traveller, and form an immense and impervious canopy of foliage. The way was thronged with camels, and donkeys, and persons on foot, all denoting the neighbourhood of a populous city. This bustling scene, as well as the opening view of Cairo, said to be striking when approached from this quarter, was nearly lost to us on account of the clouds of dust that darkened the air, and, in spite of all precautions, nearly blinded us. We were too much engaged in protecting our eyes and lungs against this intolerable nuisance to attend to anything else. I saw, however, a number of fine villas, enclosed in extensive and well-planted gardens. We entered the city through the principal square, which had rather the appearance of a waste field, and took lodgings in the Frank Quarter, at Munday's hotel.

## CHAPTER V.

Sojourn in Cairo.—Lodgings and Manner of Living.—Situation of Cairo.—The Nile.—The Delta.—The Valley of Egypt.—Cairo in the Natural Centre.—Walls.—Citadel, Old and New.—Commanding View.—The Palace.—Garden.—New Mosque.—Joseph's Hall.—Joseph's Well.—Massacre of the Mamelukes.—The Pacha's Apology.—Slave-market.—Nubians.—Negroes.—Streets of Cairo.—Jews' Quarter.—Dryness of the Atmosphere.—Filth.—Scavengers.—Fuel.—Style of Building.—Awnings.—Bazars.—Building Materials.—Windows.—Rude Workmanship.—Gates.—Police.—Mosques.—Minarets.—Population.—Singular Fact.

We remained in Cairo nearly three weeks, busily employed in visiting the various objects interesting to a traveller, which are concentrated in this city and its environs in greater numbers than upon any other point in Egypt. After remaining a short time in the hotel, we hired a large house, furnished partly in Turkish and partly in European style, for which we paid only one dollar per day. Here we soon found ourselves very comfortable, and free to prosecute our inquiries. The great irregularity of meals, and other interruptions at the hotel, had so broken up our time as effectually to interfere with any plan of operations. Our servants now purchased provisions in the bazars, where they are abundant, though not all of the best quality. The mutton is decidedly good, fowls only tolerable. Eggs are very abundant as well as cheap. Bread is cheap, but of very inferior quality. By adding our travelling outfit of kitchen utensils and table furniture to the stock which we found in the house, we had a tolerable supply for our rather coarse style of cooking and housekeeping.

Grand Cairo is nearly three miles east of the Nile, and about twelve south of the upper or southern termination of the Delta. There the river is divided into two channels, through which its waters flow into the Mediterranean, one

diverging to the northwest, the other to the northeast, thus giving a triangular form to the alluvial region below. The base of this triangle, which is about 150 miles in length, rests upon the Mediterranean, and forms the northern boundary of Egypt. From a point on the shore midway between Rosetta and Damietta, which is situated near the two principal mouths of the Nile, to the bifurcation of the river below Cairo, the distance is about 100 miles. Here the fertile valley of the Nile is contracted to a dozen miles in width. At Cairo it is still narrower, and hence to the frontiers of Nubia, a distance of nearly 500 miles, its average width is about six miles. This narrow vale, which, seen from the Pyramids or some other commanding position, appears itself but a broad river, follows all the sinuosities of the Nile through its entire length. It is bounded on the east and west by chains of mountains, which also conform so exactly to the devious course of the river, that they seem, no less than the alluvial plain that lies between them, to have been fashioned by its inundations. Beyond these mountains are vast deserts, stretching on the east to the Red Sea, and on the west to the interior of Africa. Such are the dimensions and form of Egypt, the same in ancient and modern times, for they are physically unchangeable. The area of this celebrated country is barely equal to one third of the State of New-York.

Grand Cairo, it will be perceived by a glance upon a map, occupies the natural centre of Egypt. The metropolis has always been in this neighbourhood. Heliopolis was only five miles below, and the site of Memphis is not more than ten miles above the present capital. The position commands the approaches to Upper Egypt, and is upon the direct and natural thoroughfare between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

Cairo is built chiefly upon the alluvial plain of the Nile, but the eastern part of the city rests upon the lower declív-

ity of Mount Mokattam, a part of the long range which separates Egypt from the Desert of the Red Sea. It was formerly encompassed with a wall, which is attributed to Saladin. This enclosure still bounds the city on the east and south. The remainder of it is much dilapidated, and is included in the heart of the town, which at present extends far beyond these ancient defences on its north and west sides.

My first visit was paid to the Citadel, which is built upon the declivity of the mountain. It commands the city, but is itself overlooked by higher elevations which rise immediately beyond it. It would be incapable of withstanding a regular attack from without, but is quite sufficient to guard the town against a surprise, and, what is more important, to keep its population in awe.

Formerly there were two citadels, the old and new. Both were united by the French when masters of Egypt, and now form but one fortress. The ascent from the lower part of the city is practicable by donkeys. The road, for a considerable distance, is cut out of the solid rock. The walls of this fortress are built in the most substantial manner, of hewn stone, and may be 40 or 50 feet high. On the south I should think them considerably more than 100 feet. On this side is a terrace which overlooks the city, and commands an extensive and splendid view, embracing Cairo with its mosques and minarets, Boulak, Old Cairo, the Nile, and the green fields and groves of palm-trees that, as far as the eye can reach, adorn its banks. Beyond the river are seen the site of ancient Memphis, covered with a forest of palm-trees, the Pyramids of Ghizeh, and the Libyan Mountains, which interpose between the Great Desert and the vale of Egypt.

The palace occupied by Mohammed Ali as a town residence is south of this terrace. A small garden intervenes between it and the point of view just indicated. This is an

irregular edifice like the citadel, partly ancient, and partly built by its present owner. Several rooms are yet in the occupancy of the workmen, and the whole is, of course, seen to disadvantage. A number of apartments, into which we were readily admitted in the absence of the pacha, are extensive and elegant. They are paved with large squares of white marble. The ceiling, painted in bad taste, is lofty, and the furniture elegant, consisting of large French mirrors, splendid chandeliers suspended in the centres of the rooms, broad divans covered with rich silks or broadcloths, and deeply fringed with twisted silk of the most showy colours. One large room was covered with a sumptuous Persian carpet of signal beauty. Others were furnished with the best Turkey carpets. One splendid marble room had a fountain in the centre, profusely ornamented with showy but clumsily-executed sculpture. The attendant turned a faucet, and these sculptured figures discharged from their mouths four or five streams of clear water into the marble basin. It is, no doubt, a cool and delightful summer apartment. We also saw the pacha's bath, richly but unskilfully ornamented with marble. The small gardens belonging to the palace contain a variety of trees, shrubs, and flowering plants. They struck me as stiffly laid out, but it was delightful to stand in the midst of beautiful flowers on the second of January.

At a little distance from the palace the pacha is erecting a splendid mosque, which is to eclipse all the existing religious edifices in this city of mosques. It is in a state of considerable advancement, and a vast quantity of material is on the spot, consisting of blocks of wrought stone and marble, and a multitude of fine columns, partly antiques, and many new ones. As yet it has neither minaret nor dome. It is a quadrangle of great extent, like most of the large mosques, enclosing a court open to the sky. The exterior is of hewn stone, and of very solid, massive construction.

The interior consists of galleries running round the court, supported by long rows of fine marble columns. The worshippers perform their devotions under the galleries as well as in the whole enclosure, which is all holy ground. In this equable climate, where rain seldom falls, no inconvenience is felt from want of a roof, and the exposure of an open colonnade. The noblest edifices of Greece are known to have been similarly exposed. This mosque occupies, in part at least, the site of an ancient and very splendid edifice, by some travellers called Joseph's Hall. It has long been dilapidated and nearly in ruins, and now a considerable portion of it is demolished. Still several of the noble monolith columns of red granite which supported this stately edifice remain standing, and fully sustain the accounts of its former magnificence. The Hall was the work of the famous Saladin: the pillars were certainly taken from the temples and other structures of the ancient Egyptians.

Joseph's Well is another stupendous monument, ascribed also to Saladin or Yusuff, but is more probably the work of the ancient Egyptians. It is excavated through the rock on which the citadel is built, 270 feet, to the level of the water in the Nile, which filters into it through the porous soil of the intervening region. It is oblong rather than circular, the longest diameter being about forty feet. It is descended by a winding staircase exterior to the well, from which it is separated by a wall of the solid rock, which was left from one to two feet thick.

There are windows in this wall, through which the light that enters at the top of the well passes into the staircase, and enables the visiter to pursue his difficult, and still rather dark walk along this low and spiral declivity. At the depth of about 180 feet an alcove is excavated in the rock. Here a buffalo is stationed, and turns a wheel, on the same plan with those employed in irrigation, which raises the water from the depths below, emptying it from the earthen jars

appended to the band, into a reservoir excavated in the side of the well, upon the same level with the wheel. Another similar machine, at the top of the well, brings the water from this cistern to another on the surface of the earth, from which its brackish streams are distributed through the gardens and other establishments in the citadel. In case of a siege it would be the only resource of the garrison. It is not much used at present for drinking. Near the lower wheel is the mouth of a subterranean passage, of what extent and for what purpose formed I know not, but my guide assured me it was the tomb of the patriarch Joseph!

We inquired for that part of the citadel where the Mamelukes were assassinated by order of Mohammed Ali. Our guide pointed to a defile in one of the approaches, enclosed with walls of immense height, which was signalized by this dark tragedy. The unsuspecting victims were invited to be present at a military fête, given on the occasion of investing the pacha's son with the command of the army about to be sent against the Wahabees in Arabia. The gate by which they entered the fatal defile was closed behind them, and the Albanian soldiers, who were posted upon the ramparts above, shot them down with musketry. Nearly 600 men were killed in the citadel, and a similar fate was soon visited upon the smaller bands of this brave but seditious corps, stationed in the provincial towns. Mohammed Ali pretends to have had ample proof that the Mamelukes were fomenting a new plot against his government and life, and justifies this atrocious measure by the urgent necessities of his situation. I was informed by gentlemen who had frequently conversed with him upon this dark part of his earlier history, that he speaks of it without reserve or delicacy. He says it was a controversy of life and death between him and the Mamelukes, and that he only anticipated their designs by superior address and activity. He is, perhaps, entitled to be judged in this transaction by the moral code of

the East, where treachery and assassination have always been the most common methods of obtaining and preserving political power.

I paid an early visit to the slave-market of Cairo, which is always regarded one of the curiosities of the city. The buildings present nothing remarkable. They are quadrangular, and of no great extent. The market-place is the open square enclosed by this dirty, ruinous structure. The slaves are in foul, dark rooms, that open into the court on all sides. There is likewise, on the second story, an open gallery, looking into the same court, where slaves are also exhibited. It is a ruinous, gloomy place. There may have been forty or fifty slaves present, mostly boys and girls from eight to ten years of age. About one half of them were Nubians. Their complexion was that of a very dark mulatto; their teeth were white and regular, and the expression mild and agreeable. I saw no sales, but was told that these boys commonly bring from $100 to $200. Several of the females wore ornaments of shining metal on their necks and arms, and upon the hair. They laughed, and appeared very cheerful. The rest were less prepossessing in their appearance. They had coal-black skins, and short, curly hair, with all the other characteristics of the negro race. They were disgustingly filthy, though several females wore a profusion of trinkets, and had their coarse woolly hair filled with grease, and twisted into very small tufts, that hung down on either side of the head. The whole had the appearance of a fringe of small snakes, and was a disgusting sight.

Most of them were sufficiently clad in coarse dirty cottons; one or two children, perhaps a dozen years old, were nearly naked. The price of the negroes, who are from the interior part of Africa, and real savages, is about half that of the Nubians.

Cairo is pervaded in different directions by several long

thoroughfares, which, though neither wide nor direct, answer the purpose of intercommunication between the different parts of the city. With these exceptions, the streets are all short and crooked, laid out without any system, and often terminating abruptly against walls and other structures. They are all narrow—few are ten feet wide. The average width may be six feet, while many do not exceed three. In the Jews' Quarter, here, as elsewhere, the worst part of the city, the streets are so narrow that it is difficult to walk in them. It is impossible to pass a loaded donkey without stepping into a door or some other recess. These dark lanes are crowded with the descendants of Jacob, who have the appearance of abject poverty and degradation. The few shops which I saw in this quarter were of the worst description, dark and dirty, with only the most beggarly supply of the meanest articles. I have learned, upon inquiry, that there is much real, and, according to the custom of the East, more apparent poverty among the Jews in this city. A few of them have property, and are in respectable business.

None of the streets are paved. There is, however, no mud, the dryness of the atmosphere absorbing all moisture. Dust is the greatest annoyance. It rises in clouds, and fills the air whenever the slightest wind blows. It enters the houses, and covers clothes, furniture, and food. I was advised to wear a veil as a protection to the eyes, but the minute particles of sand still found a way to my lungs in undiminished abundance.

Cairo cannot be called a clean city, yet I saw nothing to authorize the representations of travellers who speak of it as the dirtiest place in the world. It is less so than any of the towns in Greece—than Naples or Rome. I could mention cities in the north of Europe with which it might bear a favourable comparison in this respect. Its exemption from excessive filth is probably due more to the cli-

mate, which is too dry to admit of mold or putrefaction, than to any proper attention of the police. I did not see scavengers at work, as in other towns. The children and old women gathering manure, which they place in baskets carried on the head, are the only functionaries of this sort who came under my observation, and these were chiefly employed in the suburbs and entrances of the town.

The dung of camels, donkeys, &c., which is carefully gathered up in the streets and public ways by these poor people, is mixed with a little broken straw and water, and formed into thin cakes, which, after being dried in the sun, are used as fuel for cooking and warming apartments. The walls and roofs of many humble dwellings are covered with these unseemly ornaments.

The style of building here is peculiar—at least I have not observed it elsewhere. The first story of the better class of houses is for the most part constructed of hewn stone, with the alternate courses commonly painted red, and is sufficiently massive and solid. The second and third stories usually project two or three feet over the first, supported by beams of wood and sometimes by buttresses of stone, which stand out from the lower wall not unlike pilasters. It follows that, upon a street six feet wide upon the ground, the upper stories of the houses will meet, or nearly so. The light is thus obstructed or excluded, and the narrow streets made dark and gloomy at midday. The heat of the climate has probably given rise to this style of building, as it has to the awnings which extend quite across the wider streets, and wholly exclude the rays of the sun from all of the principal bazars. A bazar is something more than a market, as the word is used here. The name is applied to all the chief places of trade, comprising many whole streets.

Above the lower story the houses are, with very few exceptions, built of bricks or fragments of brick, laid in a mass of mud. Sometimes this wall is plastered and whitewash-

ed; it is more frequently neither, when it has a very mean and dirty appearance. Half a dozen rainy days of an American climate would reduce them to a heap of rubbish. Here these frail structures may give shelter to successive generations of men. The roofs are flat, and covered with a coat of clay, or a composition of clay and gravel, which, like the mud walls, is sufficient for this benignant climate. The windows commonly project over the street. They consist generally of an oblong casement of lattice-work, variously constructed, and, in some instances, curiously carved or turned in wood. They are intended to admit a portion of light, and, at the same time, to prevent persons in the street from looking into the houses. The glass windows, when this material is used, are wholly or partially covered with this network of wood. The interior finishing of even the best houses is very coarse and rude, indicating very little skill in the mechanic arts.

It adds not a little to the gloomy aspect of Cairo, that all the larger thoroughfares, and a great many of the smaller streets and lanes, are shut up by low, narrow gates, which obstruct the moving crowd, and often quite prevent the passage of camels laden with bulky articles. These gates are closed soon after dark, when no person is allowed to walk in the streets without a lantern, on the penalty of being flogged upon the spot by the agents of the police, who perambulate every part of the town to preserve good order. The whole city is divided into wards, shut up at night by these barriers, each with its proper chief or sheik, who is clothed with ample and summary powers for the prevention of nocturnal disturbances and crime, an end which is said to be very effectually attained. The streets, which are not lighted, are perfectly still at night. One may walk over half Cairo without meeting a dozen persons, and these are commonly soldiers or Franks, with their servants carrying a lantern or torch before them.

By far the finest structures in Cairo are the mosques, whether examined as single specimens of architecture, or considered only as beautiful objects, and in reference to their effect upon the appearance of the city. The eye of the traveller approaching the capital by the Nile, or looking upon it from some of the commanding elevations of Mount Mohattan, rests with delight and admiration upon the vast number of minarets, that rise far above all other edifices, and seem, at the distance of a few miles, to be clustered together like the masts of a fleet at anchor. The minaret of a Mohammedan mosque is a much more beautiful and striking object than the spires of our churches. It is circular in form, tall, slender, and graceful; perfectly white, and usually surmounted with a gilded crescent, which, in the clear sky of Egypt, seems to blaze in the rays of the sun. Two or three light galleries run around at different elevations, to which there is an ascent by a winding staircase within. Here the muezzin takes his lofty station when he chants the call to prayers. The body of the mosque usually consists of a gallery built around a square, open court. The outer side of this structure, or that which looks upon the street, is merely a high wall formed of white stone, the alternate layers being painted red. The interior, or side next to the court, consists of a row of pillars, with the spaces between them left open. On the east side of this square, which is the part especially consecrated to worship, the gallery is of greater depth, and is supported by separate rows of columns, forming naves, which are occupied by the assembly of worshippers. There is usually no roof. The stone pavement is covered with mats or carpets, upon which the worshipper kneels to say his prayers. There are neither benches nor chairs. In the centre of the court is always a fountain, for the performance of those ablutions which precede all acts of Mohammedan devotion. There are four hundred mosques in Cairo, many of them in a very

dilapidated state, and no longer occupied for public worship. They are mostly the work of the Saracens. New ones are seldom built, as, indeed, there is no occasion for them, the number already in existence being far greater than is necessary for the wants of the inhabitants.

Cairo has at present a population of three hundred thousand, being a considerable increase within the last twenty or thirty years. The whole population of Egypt is known to have diminished considerably within that period. This is a phenomenon which can only appear under a despotic government viciously administered, where the people seek, in the metropolis and in the great central power, protection from the more grinding exactions of subordinate tyrants who are irresponsible, and, therefore, oppressive in proportion to their remoteness from the capital.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Artificial Mountains.—Great Nuisance.—Their Removal.—Environs of Cairo.—Plain of the Nile.—Fertility.—Villas.—Irrigation.—The Desert.—Necropolis.—Common Graves.—Cemetery of the Mamelukes.—Tombs of the Caliphs.—Sepulchral Mosques.—The Melancholy Fate of Egypt.—Question of Taste.—Excursion to Heliopolis.—Description of the Route.—Site of Heliopolis.—The Obelisk.—Other Remains.—Ruined Wall.—A Sacred Garden.—Tradition.—Miracles.—Venerable Tree.—Petrified Forest.—Palace at Shoubra.—Esbekieh.—Residence of Napoleon.—Noble Sycamores.—The Porter.—The Garden.—Kiosk.—Immense Bath.—Juvenile Artists.—The Palace.

THE stranger who, like me, enters Cairo in haste, blinded with dust, and distracted with a multitude of new objects, will be surprised, on his first visit to the environs, to discover that the city, though built upon a plain, is encompassed on all sides with a range of hills or low mountains, which almost equal in elevation its highest minarets.

These are the accumulations of ages, and have been formed by depositing, at a short distance beyond the walls, the sweepings of the streets, the ruins of decayed houses, the broken pottery, and all the rubbish which has been carried out of this great metropolis for a thousand years. These immense mounds overlook the town so completely, that the French planted batteries upon them during their occupancy of Cairo, to keep the people in awe. They are constantly rising higher by new deposites, and trains of donkeys may always be seen clambering up their steep sides, laden with whatever would elsewhere be carried into the country for manure. No small share of these unsightly masses is brought back into the city in the form of impalpable dust, with which every breeze is laden. They are believed to be seriously detrimental to the health of the people, and the pacha has boldly undertaken their removal to the morasses in the neighbourhood. It is one of his greatest, as well as most useful enterprises.

The environs of Cairo cannot be properly called grand, nor perhaps beautiful. The region is generally a perfect level, and the improvements are by no means tasteful. Still, everything is picturesque and unique. From the city to the Nile, on the west, the rich alluvial plain is checkered with long avenues of evergreen Oriental trees, and the outline is filled up with luxuriant fields of wheat and fruitful gardens, which furnish the teeming population of Cairo with a profusion of fine vegetables. Spacious villas, imbowered among the verdant trees, and surrounded by high whitewashed walls; the various contrivances for irrigation—canals and gutters formed upon the top of long earthen mounds or low walls of stone; the huge, clumsy wheels, turned by buffaloes, for drawing water; and then the unwieldy camels, moving slowly along under their enormous loads; the multitudes of donkeys and horses, with their swarthy, almost naked drivers; and the gaudy, flowing

dresses of their riders, swelling and waving in the incessant wind, form altogether a scene unlike all that is seen in the Western World, and full of interest and animation, though destitute of any very striking natural features, and certainly deficient in all that improved art and taste contribute to the decoration of nature. Pass out of the city on the opposite side, and you are in the Desert. No trees, no cultivated fields—not a shrub or a blade of grass is seen. As far as the eye can reach is a sea of sand. The hills and valleys, which were, perhaps, once verdant and cultivated, have been inundated from the Desert, and doomed to irreclaimable sterility. There are no suburbs on this side of the town. The sand has extended its desolations to the gates.

This dreary region, which seems to abhor vegetation and life, has been appropriately devoted to the dead, and the tombs of more than a thousand years cover the immense fields of sand that stretch from this side of the city into the Desert. When seen at a distance, they have the appearance of a deserted town. The ground occupied by cemeteries is hardly less in extent than one third of the area of Cairo.

The tombs of the multitude are of simple and cheap construction. Still they show very strikingly the respect of these people for the memory of deceased relatives. The common Arab is buried in his robes, without a coffin, and at no great depth. His monument is a simple structure of masonry, of sufficient length and breadth to cover the grave, and two or three feet in height. Its form is oblong, and the materials are stone or brick, plastered and whitewashed. Several of them are nothing but quadrangular masses of clay, with perpendicular stones or pieces of wood at the head and foot of the grave, rising two feet or more above this simple monument. Many have fallen into decay, and only appear as small shapeless mounds, covered with the sand of the Desert. Many of them, however, are kept in

repair. The encroaching sand is carefully removed, and the whitewash frequently renewed. I saw several persons employed in restoring the dilapidated tombs, though I do not remember to have observed any such care bestowed on the habitations of the living.

In every part of the vast field which is covered by these humble whitewashed monuments of the poor, are family burying-places; small square enclosures, surrounded by high whitewashed walls, and closed by gates. Here the more opulent or fastidious repose, guarded in death, as they probably were in life, against the contamination of vulgar associations. The gates of some of these enclosures had fallen or were left open, and I saw monuments within much like those I have described, only of better workmanship, and more costly and durable materials.

At no great distance, but still farther in the Desert, is the separate and splendid burial-ground of the Mamelukes. Here are many sumptuous monuments of various forms. In some, a quadrangle of twenty, thirty, or forty feet square, built of white marble, is surmounted by a chaste and elegant cupola or dome. In others, the dome rests upon graceful columns that seem too slender and frail to support it. Several take the forms of temples.

The tombs of the Caliphs, thought by some writers also to belong to the Mamelukes, occupy another, but more distant part of the Desert. Upon these structures the best architectural talent of the era was employed, and wealth was profusely lavished. Some of them occupy more than an acre of ground. They are built of hewn stone, beautifully white, with the alternate layers painted red—a style peculiar, as far as I have seen, to Egypt.

Some of these tombs are mosques, with splendid domes and minarets. They include accommodations for persons who are employed in keeping them in repair, and in such religious rites as are appropriated to this union of tomb and

mosque. I was told that permanent funds belong to these establishments, for the maintenance of those who are devoted to these services. As specimens of architecture, several of these monuments are beautiful and elaborate. There is nothing among the habitations of the living in Cairo that equals them in good taste and magnificence.

This city of the dead possesses great and peculiar interest. It contains the annals of this most unfortunate country from the days of the false prophet. What region of the earth has such a history? From the Persian conquest, all its rulers have been foreigners, with no sympathy for the people but that of tyrants for their victims. From the builders of the Pyramids to Mohammed Ali, who has built a sumptuous family mausoleum near the cemetery of the Mamelukes, this basest of kingdoms has toiled to rear imperishable tombs to preserve the ashes of its conquerors. Who of them all has deserved a monument by conferring any valuable boon upon the people, throughout this long period of 3000 years?

Some who have visited these cemeteries have thought trees and verdure wanting to give effect to the scene. To my taste, these would spoil it. They are befitting decorations for the haunts of the living, but for a necropolis, for a habitation of the dead, there is no place like the Desert, no adorning comparable to the dreary sands—"ashes to ashes." I have spent thoughtful and pleasant hours in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, but after visiting the tombs of the Mamelukes and the Caliphs, I shall always think its delicious walks and shady bowers out of taste. They do not harmonize with the scene. They interfere with the moral and truth of the place and its associations.

January 6. I went this day to visit the site of the ancient Heliopolis—the On of the Holy Scriptures. It is nearly north from Cairo, and distant about two hours' ride by a donkey, perhaps seven miles. The road follows the valley of

the Nile but two or three miles from its banks, and just upon the edge of the Desert. This tract is too elevated to be reached by the annual inundation, but it is irrigated with great care, and is covered with a luxuriant growth of wheat, lucerne, sugar-cane, and a variety of fine vegetables. Everything is more advanced by two or three weeks than it is nearer the river, no doubt from having been planted before the lower grounds were free from the inundation. Persian wheels are more numerous here than I have observed them elsewhere. They are primitive and awkward constructions, but very effective. Several of the artificial streams which we crossed in our ride, flowed with an ample current. The water was beautifully transparent, very unlike the dark, muddy river of which it so lately formed a part. At the distance of three miles from Cairo we passed through a large and populous village, consisting of mud hovels, with a number of houses and shops of a better sort on the principal street. Near it are fine groves of palm and other trees. Much of the road from Cairo to this place runs between parallel rows of trees, planted for shade, though many of them are yet too small to afford much shelter. We saw several extensive plantations of mulberry-trees still clothed with green leaves, which is the case with all the trees I have seen in Egypt.

A considerable part of the site of Heliopolis is a fertile field under good cultivation. Of all the costly and magnificent structures which are known to have adorned the ancient city, nothing is now distinguishable but a single obelisk of red granite. This stands in the midst of a garden, which is annually covered and enriched by the inundation of the Nile. The base of the obelisk is concealed from view, the earth having been raised by the alluvial deposite. The depth of this accumulation we had no means of ascertaining. It is said by travellers, I know not whether on mere conjecture or as the result of examination, which could

easily be made, that it is not more than eight or ten feet, Wilkinson says five feet ten inches. The obelisk is six feet square at the present surface of the earth, and is covered with hieroglyphics. It has suffered little from the ravages of time, though probably full three thousand five hundred years old.* The polish is still perfect, and the sculptured signs and figures fresh and intact. Its height, which is variously stated by travellers, is between sixty and seventy feet. This beautiful monument is seen for many miles around, except when the view is obstructed by trees, which abound in this neighbourhood.

The other remains of Heliopolis are only shapeless masses of ruins, among which nothing can be identified as marking the site of any particular edifices. Some excavations have been made in the edge of the Desert, and considerable remains of brick constructions disclosed, but in a state so ruinous that it is not possible to determine, with any certainty, to what buildings they may have belonged. Blocks of red granite and other wrought stones are seen in different directions, which evidently belonged to the ancient city. Finally, extensive remains of a wall, forming an oblong of the length of about three quarters of a mile, by half a mile in width, still encompass the cultivated field near the centre of which stands the solitary and venerable obelisk. Fragments of pottery and bricks, the most common and, perhaps, the most decisive and least perishable evidence by which the position of very ancient cities can be established, are abundantly diffused over the ruins of this wall, as well as in all directions around them.

Heliopolis, or On, was probably the capital of Egypt before the building of Memphis, and it only ceased to be the chief place of Egyptian learning after the Ptolemies had transferred the seat of empire to Alexandria. When

* It was reared by Osirtesen I., B.C. 1740. Joseph came to Egypt under this reign.—WILKINSON'S *Thebes*, p. 316.

Strabo visited this country, On was in ruins, though the house where Plato studied philosophy was yet standing.*

A short distance from Heliopolis, and close to the village of Matarea, our guides led us into a garden full of orange and lemon trees, which tradition has made sacred ground. Here it was that Joseph and Mary, with the infant Saviour, found refuge when they fled from the persecution of Herod into Egypt. They were oppressed with thirst, and a fountain miraculously opened, and sent forth pure water to refresh them. This is now shown in the form of a well, from which water is raised by a buffalo, in the usual manner, to irrigate the garden. These holy persons were about to be overtaken by their pursuers, when a sycamore-tree standing near the fountain opened and received the mother and child, thus concealing them from their enemies. The sycamore-tree is still shown; and, if it were possible to believe that any tree has outlived eighteen hundred years, this might be the one. It is of huge dimensions, and has the appearance of great age. Two centuries ago it was visited by a traveller, who found it "hacked for relics." It still suffers in this way, from the superstition of the people. The ambition of visiters has also covered its venerable trunk with names cut in the bark. Like the hieroglyphics on the obelisk we had just left, these illegible inscriptions no longer contribute to the fame of those whose names they record.

We were indebted to our Mohammedan guides for the traditions connected with this garden. They, no less than the native Christians, receive them with the fullest confidence in their truth.

I made another interesting excursion to what is called the Petrified Forest. It is in the Desert, east of Cairo, and distant six or seven miles. The ride, upon donkeys, requires about two hours. Here is a valley of sand, which,

* Wilkinson.

with the sides of the adjacent hills, is covered with prostrate trees in a state of petrifaction. I walked over an extent of perhaps two hundred acres, without, however, reaching the limit of this interesting field.

The trees are, of course, all prostrate. They are of various sizes, from three or four inches to nearly three feet in diameter. They are in fragments, none of which are more than five or six feet in length. It is difficult to conjecture what was the state of this forest when the work of transformation commenced. Some trees were evidently in a state of partial decomposition, which was arrested by the petrifaction. From the appearance of several fragments, we should be led to conclude that a violent tempest had but recently overthrown a forest of living trees, when the transition commenced. The fractures in many specimens were evidently made when the timber was green, and petrifaction ensued before any change had occurred from decay or other causes. From the appearance of many other fragments, we should draw the inadmissible inference that the petrifaction had occurred while the tree was yet standing, and that the fractures were produced by the fall. They all have the appearance of having been made subsequent to the transformation, exhibiting no splinters and ligneous projections, but even surfaces, or nearly so. Many pieces have the bark perfectly preserved: on others it is partially decayed. One specimen which I brought away was part of a large hollow tree.

Others have portions of the limbs remaining, still attached to the trunk. Some of these trees seem to have been torn up by violent winds, and the roots as well as trunk are petrified. Few remain entire, portions of them having been removed by the curious, or to be used for the purposes of building, &c. The fragments of one large trunk have all been spared, and they are together about eighty feet in length by a diameter of two feet.

Considerable physical changes must have taken place since this forest was transformed into stone. The valley which it occupies is a good deal higher than that of the Nile, and the hillsides, which are covered with these petrifactions, are at least twenty or thirty feet above the valley. Were these hills, as well as the valley, inundated at the time of the transformation? In returning to Cairo I saw many similar fragments scattered upon the Desert. They may have been removed to their present location, but more probably were produced on the spot by the same agency to which the forest owes its transformation. The great number, as well as the wide diffusion of these fragments, would seem to favour this supposition. There are two other petrified forests five or six miles farther in the Desert, in the same direction. They are more extensive than the one described, but, as they are said to exhibit only the same appearances with that described above, I did not visit them. I selected and brought away some valuable specimens, designed for cabinets in the United States.

The most agreeable excursion in the environs of Cairo is that to the pacha's summer residence at Shoubra, distant about four miles to the south. The route is the same by which I first entered the city. In going from our lodgings to the gate on this side of the town, we passed through the largest public square of Cairo, called Esbekieh. It has a waste, neglected aspect, though considerable labour has been employed in surrounding it with a canal and planting trees, a number of which are large and flourishing, with thick spreading foliage, that affords ample shelter from the sun. The larger part of the trees, however, are still small, and the walks and other improvements are prosecuted with little spirit or taste. Several extensive palaces of rather a shabby appearance front upon this square. The large house occupied by Napoleon when master of Egypt is shown upon its western side. It is on this side of the city that the

pacha has commenced the removal of the immense mounds of rubbish already referred to. Considerable progress has already been made in this great enterprise, but its completion must be the work of many years, if not of several generations. We soon entered the magnificent avenue of sycamores, which for nearly three miles darken this broad-teeming thoroughfare with their far-spreading, exuberant foliage. These are the finest trees I have seen in Egypt.

Shoubra is situated on the bank of the Nile, from which water is abundantly supplied for the purposes of ornament and irrigation. We applied for admission into the pacha's garden to the janizary at the gate, but were told that many tedious formalities must be complied with before we could be allowed to enter. A written order must be obtained from the American consul. This must be countersigned by a bey or some other dignitary, and then presented to the porter, who resided at a short distance. Mr. J., who was of our party, disposed of all this preliminary matter by telling the janizary sternly that nothing of the sort was customary, and that we should go into the garden when we pleased. We then walked towards the gate, and the official, standing respectfully back, gave us no farther molestation, only he demanded bucksheesh on our return.

The garden is very extensive, containing, I should conjecture, from twenty to forty acres. It is laid out rather formally, in straight walks and avenues. The greater part of it is thickly planted with orange and lemon trees, laden with an amazing profusion of ripe fruit. A portion is devoted to ornamental trees, and there is also a great variety of odoriferous shrubs and flowers, now in full bloom. Everything is planted much more closely than in a European or American garden, a method recommended, probably, by the exuberant fertility of the soil, as well as by the demands of a hot climate, where impervious shade is indispensable in pleasure-grounds. Copious supplies of water

are conducted through narrow gutters into every part of the garden for the purpose of irrigation. There are also several fountains which play with pretty effect in the little thickets and summer-houses.

Near the eastern extremity of the garden is a large pavilion or *Kiosk*, which is yet unfinished. I was told that it is designed for the women of the pacha, to be used as a bath. It is built around a square, open court, is one story high, and about 135 feet wide by 228 long on each side. The exterior is of brick, plastered and whitewashed, presenting nothing remarkable. The interior is one continuous gallery, opening on the court, more than 900 feet in circuit. It is paved with marble, and ornamented by a vast number of slender marble and alabaster columns. There is a small room in each of the angles, which does not interrupt the continuity of the gallery. The whole area thus enclosed and paved with marble forms a reservoir three or four feet deep, with a showy marble fountain in the centre, spouting water into this immense bath through the mouths of a number of badly-sculptured crocodiles. There are four smaller fountains situated on the gallery, spouting water into the reservoir at the four angles. The whole exhibits an example of magnificent design and sumptuous materials spoiled by clumsy workmanship. Little girls and boys were employed in polishing the columns. The sculptors, who were also at work, seemed not much more competent. The fresco painting of the ceilings is positively grotesque.

The walks near the palace are curiously paved with small white and black pebbles, so arranged as to form a variety of figures. The palace itself is a poor building, of no great extent. We only looked into one or two rooms, which were painted in the bad taste that prevails in the other public edifices I have seen here, and furnished, as usual, with divans, lustres, &c.

## CHAPTER VII.

Visit to the Pyramids.—The Route.—Desert Reclaimed.—Plantations and other Improvements of Ibrahim Pacha.—Improbable Hypothesis.—Encroachments of the Desert: their Extent, and probable Results.—Old Cairo.—Trade.—Granaries of Joseph.—Aqueducts.—Ghizeh.—Island of Rhoda.—Nilometer.—Gardens.—Ride across the Plain.—Fellahs.—Importunity for Employment.—View of the Pyramids.—Reception.—Situation.—Dimensions.—Love of Fame.—Interior.—Entrance.—Passages.—King's Chamber.—Sarcophagus.—Bad Air.—Laborious Progress.—Imagination.—Ascent of the Pyramid of Cheops.—Escort.—Smaller Pyramids.—Necropolis.—Mausolea.—Mummy Pits.—Human Remains.—Other Sepulchral Monuments.—Inscriptions.—Extent of this Cemetery.—Question about the Object of the Pyramids.—Not Temples or Treasuries, but Tombs.—Reverence for the Dead.—Site of Memphis.—Large Stones.—The Sphinx.—Labours of Cavaglia.

On the 7th of January I made a visit to the Pyramids of Ghizeh, in company with Mr. and Mrs. C. and Mr. June. They are about twelve miles from Cairo, in a western direction, and upon the opposite side of the Nile. We set off very early in the morning, and did not return till some time after dark, at the close of a day of great labour and fatigue, as well as of very peculiar interest. It was my first excursion on that side of the city.

The road to Old Cairo, the upper port of Grand Cairo, passes through a tract of country highly cultivated in gardens and plantations of fruit and ornamental trees. Large fields are covered with olive-trees, lately planted, like all I have seen in Egypt. I had inferred, from their scarceness, that the rich plains of the Nile might be unfavourable to their production. They, however, flourish here luxuriantly, and the present rulers of this country have recently planted large tracts of land in young olive-trees, which are just beginning to bear fruit. The old plantations were lost by want of culture, and the disorders that have so long afflicted

this country, and the peasantry have too little interest in the soil, and too little confidence in the future, to engage in any species of agriculture which does not promise a speedy return. These olive plantations, and all the other improvements of this neighbourhood, belong to Ibrahim Pacha.

The whole region between Old and Grand Cairo, now so fruitful, was a few years ago a sandy desert. Ibrahim, who has built a new palace here, has caused the sandhills to be levelled, and the machines necessary for irrigating the thirsty soil to be erected. The whole is now a fruitful garden, equalling in fertility the alluvial soil in its neighbourhood. It is a striking instance of the fertilizing power of irrigation in a hot climate. Large tracts on the border of the Desert seem to be susceptible of similar improvement, and it is not improbable that under a regular government the arable land of Egypt may be greatly increased in quantity. There is probably little foundation for the apprehensions expressed by many travellers, that the sands of the Desert are destined to cover the Valley of the Nile. I have seen no sufficient evidence that the region susceptible of tillage is much less extensive at present than at any former period. Portions of the Desert bordering upon the alluvial plain, which seem to have been tilled in former times, are now abandoned to the sands, but more capital and skill employed in irrigation would probably reclaim all such lands. Some fields, also, immediately upon the bank of the river, which have been fallow for years, are covered with sand, and have the aspect of hopeless sterility, while the lands adjoining, when properly cultivated, produce abundantly. It seems probable that the Nile now overflows a region nearly or quite as extensive as at any former period. The banks are, indeed, gradually raised by deposites of earth brought down by the inundation, but so also, we may presume, is the bed of the river; and I am not aware that any satisfactory reason exists for believing that material changes

have occurred in their relative elevations. It is known that the land descends from the bank of the river towards the Desert, a circumstance very favourable to bringing an increased extent of that now barren waste under the fertilizing influence of irrigation. If the steril lands adjacent to the alluvial plain are annually becoming higher by encroachments from the Desert, so also is the valley itself by deposites from the overflowing of the river; and the relative height of the bed of the river, its banks, and the adjacent border of the Desert, may probably remain from age to age without any material change. This is what we should expect, without well-authenticated facts to establish the opposite hypothesis. Nature seldom tends to sterility, and the revival of industry and civilization in Egypt would probably reassert the dominion of agriculture over the whole extent formerly cultivated, and perhaps enrich it with new conquests from the Desert.

The plantations and various improvements of Ibrahim Pacha reach to the borders of Old Cairo, a long, narrow town upon the eastern bank of the Nile, standing in the midst of the rubbish of the ancient and far more extensive city of the same name. It was the capital of Egypt for a time, before the building of Grand Cairo. It is now one of the two ports of that metropolis. Boulak, two or three miles below, is the other. Here a vast number of boats receive their cargoes of merchandise; and immense quantities of wheat, peas, oats, and other agricultural products of Upper Egypt, are brought here for the supply of the capital or for the use of the government. The public storehouses are of great extent. They are usually ascribed to Saladin, and called, after him, the Granaries of Joseph; and are large enclosures of brick without roofs, where grain and other products are deposited in the open air. In this exposed situation they remain at all seasons of the year, without receiving any damage from the very slight rains which fall

in this climate. Clouds of sand and dust, however, are constantly settling upon them, and these mountains of wheat must all be subjected anew to the process of winnowing before they are converted into flour.

Old Cairo occupies the site of Babylon of Egypt, built by the Persians, and long an important town. The canal which joined the Nile to the Red Sea commenced at this point. A lofty aqueduct, which carries water to the citadel in Grand Cairo, is supplied from the river by means of machinery worked by buffaloes.

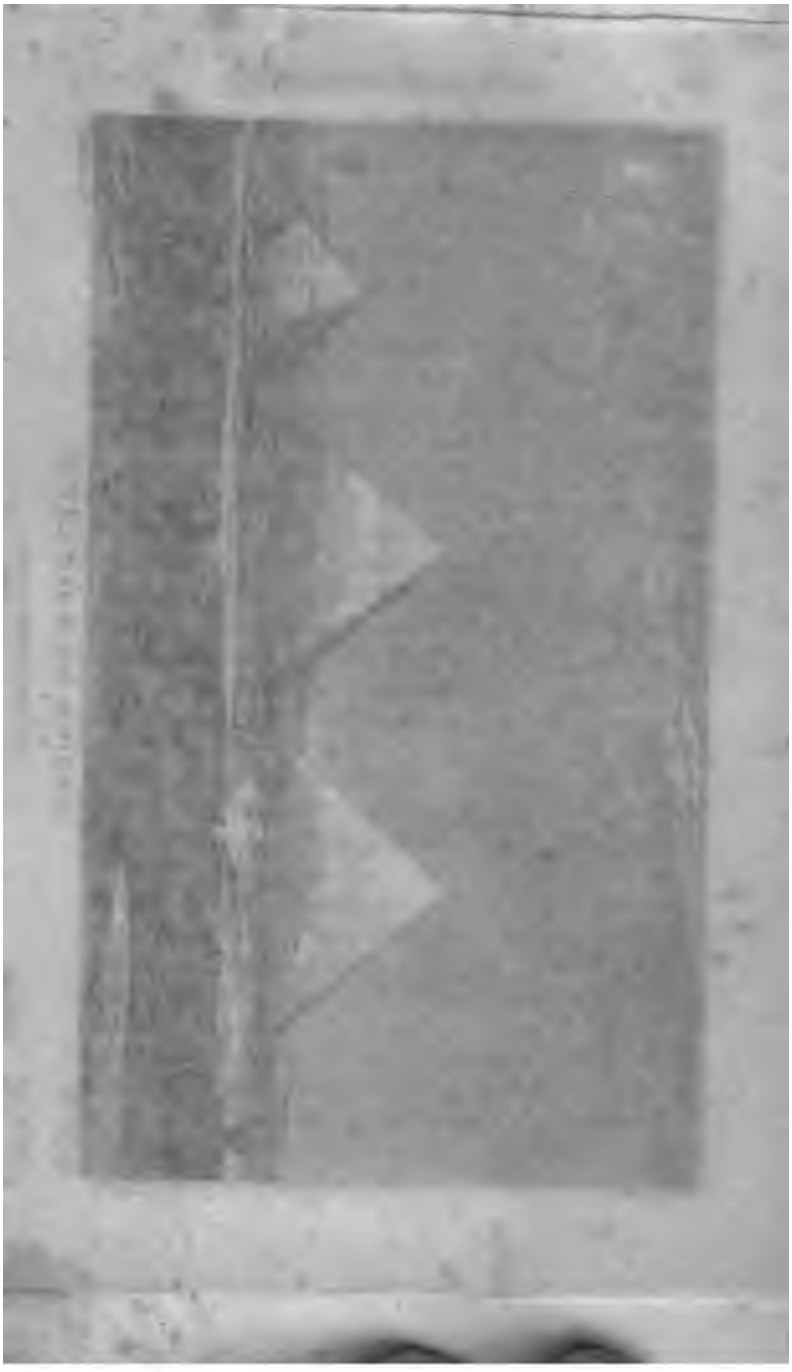
We crossed the river to Ghizeh, which is a considerable village immediately opposite to Old Cairo. The ferry passes close to the upper end of the beautiful island of Rhoda, upon which is the Nilometer, a very primitive contrivance, now in a dilapidated state. "It consists of a square well or chamber, in the centre of which is a graduated pillar, for the purpose of ascertaining the daily rise of the Nile."* This island belongs to Ibrahim Pacha, and is occupied by two extensive gardens, one laid out in the French, the other in English style. They contain a great variety of plants, native and exotic, and are managed with great care and skill by European gardeners.

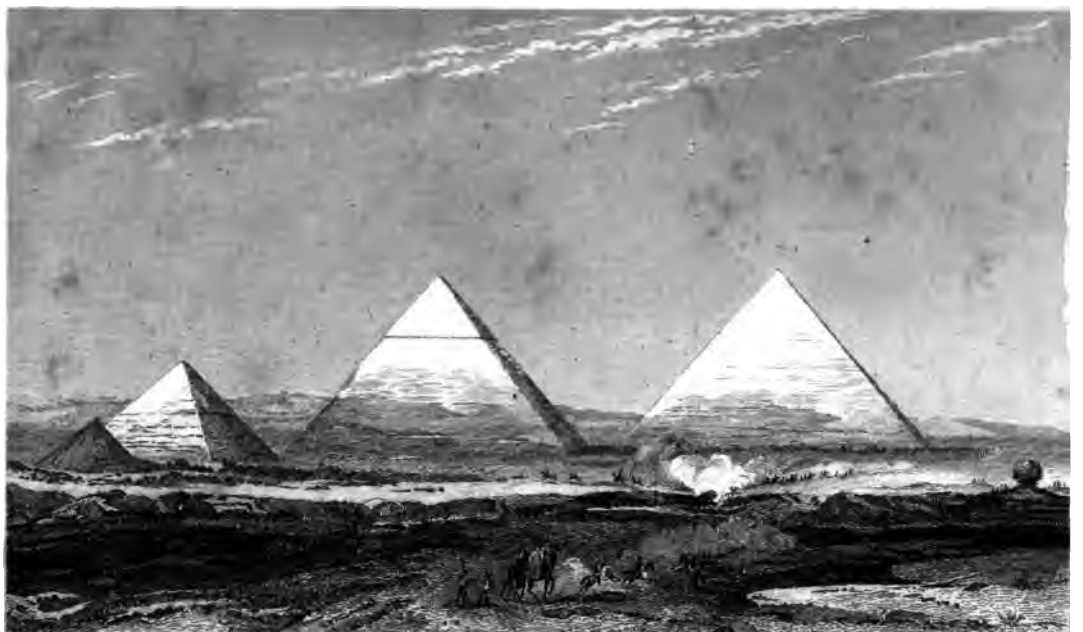
From Ghizeh to the Pyramids is eight or nine miles. The whole route lies through the alluvial plain, now covered with wheat and lucerne. We were mounted on donkeys, and rode along the narrow, zigzag paths which the Fellahs leave between their fields, to mark the divisions, and for convenient access. We were scarcely a mile from the river when our cavalcade was discovered by the Fellahs, who were labouring in the fields, on the right and left of our route, to the distance of several miles. They left their work and ran towards us from all directions, and we soon had an escort of twenty or thirty swarthy, half-naked barbarians, who came to offer their services as porters, guides, light-

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 311.

carriers, water-bearers, &c. We did all we could to induce them to leave us, assuring them we had no occasion for their aid, and did not intend to pay them for obstructing our way and annoying us by their clamour. They continued with us, however, often at a full run, and in a loud quarrel among themselves about the superior claim of one or another to serve us. We would gladly have dispensed with the presence of all of them, but at the end of four or five miles came to a large pond of water too deep to be forded upon our diminutive donkeys. Contrary to our inclinations, we were compelled to employ a portion of this troublesome escort. We selected two of the fourteen or fifteen men who had run after us, or, rather, before us, to this point, and sitting between them, on their shoulders, were carried to the opposite side. The fortunate competitors for employment accompanied us during the day. The rest of the company, with two or three exceptions, left us. Their place was immediately supplied by nearly as many girls and boys, from the villages on the edge of the Desert, who carried bottles of water, and followed us through the entire day.

The Pyramids, when seen at the distance of eight or ten miles, seem to be inconsiderable structures not far from the spectator. Whether it arises from their form, or from the perfectly level surface of the intervening region, or from the great transparency of the atmosphere, I am unable to say; but every traveller speaks of this deception. During the whole ride of from three to four hours, one cannot avoid expecting to reach the end of his journey in thirty or forty minutes. At the end of half the distance, the apparent size of the interesting objects on which the eye is constantly fixed remains the same, and it is not till the traveller stands at the base, and ... veys their ample breadth and height, that he is able to feel himself in the presence of the most stupendous of the monuments which human labour has ever





PYRAMIDS OF GHIZEH.

HARPER & BROTHERS NEW YORK

raised. Even then the imagination is disposed to transform them into mountains, and ascribe their production to Divine agency, rather than to rouse itself to the conception of so unparalleled an effort of human power.

The Pyramids of Ghizeh stand on a rock in the edge of the Desert, but close to the Valley of the Nile, above which their base may be elevated 150 feet or more. This rock rises abruptly from the plain, which for some fifty or sixty rods towards the Nile is covered with drifting sand, and it is ascended by stone steps. Half way up the cliff some tents are pitched for the accommodation of travellers. When these are insufficient, some ancient tombs, excavated in the rock near by, are occupied as lodging places.

The largest of the Pyramids, called that of Cheops, is 732 feet square, and 474 in height.* It covers a little less than thirteen acres of ground, and is composed of 202 tiers of square blocks of limestone, varying in thickness from less than two to four feet. Each ascending series recedes about two feet from the exterior side of the one below it, the whole forming a succession of terraces. These are the steps by which the ascent of the Pyramid is made. It is very laborious, but practicable to persons of common strength, and perfectly safe. Many of the stones are displaced or broken along the sides of the Pyramids, but at the angles they are nearly entire, and there the ascent is most easily made. There is a level area of about thirty feet square upon the top, made, it is presumed, by displacing several layers of stone which belonged to this structure in its entire state, and gave completeness to its pyramidal form. Here ambitious travellers have inscribed their names. They are from all civilized nations, the propensity to outlive the present being universal. The multitude of names already inscribed threatens posterity with exclusion from this pinnacle of fame, unless, indeed, the present incumbents should

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 323.

be compelled to give way before an equitable principle of rotation.

This Pyramid, when seen at only a small distance, appears to be entire; but an immense mass of rubbish at its base testifies to the successful inroads of time. The cement employed in the building still appears between the courses of stone, and is extremely hard.

There is an entrance into the interior at the height of sixteen courses. It is on the north side, a short distance from the middle. The entrance is surmounted by a sort of arch, made by two large stones, which rest against each other at the top, and form an acute angle. The passage is about three feet square, lined beautifully with polished red granite. We entered it with guides and lights. It descends at an angle of about twenty-seven degrees, and is, in a right line, about 100 feet long. Here we turned abruptly to the right, and, after ascending a short distance, came to a nearly perpendicular rise of eight or ten feet. This being with some effort surmounted, there is another ascending passage about 100 feet long. It is very laborious; the feet slide at almost every step, though incisions are made in the stone to aid them. This passage conducted us to an open space or small room, from which a narrow passage, called the well, leads to depths below. This we did not attempt. It was straight and difficult. We continued to advance in the same direction as before, through a passage more narrow and laborious, till we arrived at a room five paces long by four wide, arched with long flat stones, which meet over the middle in an acute angle. Ascending thence by holes cut for the feet in either side of the narrow, nearly perpendicular ascent, which I found more practicable than a steep inclined plane on the left, we went through another long passage 125 feet, which ends in another large room called the "King's Chamber," about twelve paces long by six wide, and I conjectured twenty

feet high. It is lined with large masses of red granite, reaching the whole length of the room, and highly polished. The ceiling is formed of long flat stones extending also from side to side. A small passage leads from this chamber to one above, which we did not attempt to reach. There is in the King's Chamber a sarcophagus of red granite, partly imbedded in the floor. It is between seven and eight feet long by a little more than three in depth and width, and has no cover.

Some smaller passages exist, which we did not explore. The air was bad and the heat excessive. It was difficult to keep upon the feet, and the passages were so low as to demand a most uncomfortable stooping—almost a creeping posture. I returned to the open air after perhaps half an hour's absence, rejoicing to see the light of day, and to have accomplished an adventure to most persons easy enough, but in my state of health not to be encountered without some anxiety. The pleasure felt on the completion of such an enterprise is likely to be enhanced by reflections which may even occur during its prosecution, on the contingencies to which it must always be in some measure exposed. What would have been the consequences of the extinction of our torches in the dreary caverns of this vast tomb? Would it have been possible to find our way in the dark through the labyrinth of low, intricate, and unending passages by which we had entered? We had left our barbarian escort at the mouth of the tomb, in a hot passion. They insisted, one and all, upon accompanying us into the interior of the Pyramid, and it was only by the most positive threats, and even demonstrations of violence, that we saved ourselves from being suffocated by the presence of a score of filthy savages, each corrupting the confined air with his burning torch and reeking breath. How easy for them to take summary revenge upon us by placing a few stones in the mouth of the narrow passage? There was probably

very little danger to be apprehended from either of these quarters, but it was pleasant to look again upon the bright sun after exploring such a world of wonders never visited by his rays.

I was twenty minutes, including several short rests, in ascending the Pyramid, and rather less in descending. We were accompanied to the summit by the sheik of the nearest village, who claims the right of acting as guide to the pyramids and tombs in his neighbourhood. Three or four other men burdened us with their offers of assistance, posting themselves upon the steps before us, and reaching down their hands to pull us up. We perseveringly declined their aid, but were unable to induce them to go away. Finally, seven or eight girls and boys, with small stone bottles full of water, urged us to drink at almost every step. These we at first tried to drive away, but were glad, before we had reached the top, to avail ourselves of their proffered refreshment. The Pyramid of Cheops was built, according to Wilkinson, 2123 years B.C.

There are three principal pyramids in this place, besides many of smaller dimensions in various stages of decay. The second in magnitude is only 120 yards distant from the one already described. It is not quite as large as that of Cheops, being 690 feet square by a height of 439 feet. Originally the outer tier of stone formed a smooth surface, a part of which near the summit remains entire. The ascent is difficult, though not impracticable.

The third Pyramid, or that of Mycerinus, is 280 feet square and 162 in height. It was formerly covered with blocks of red granite, some of which are still seen near the base. The casing of the second was of limestone. The exterior of the Pyramid of Cheops was probably of a similar construction, though no part of it remains at the present day.

The whole neighbourhood of the Pyramids is occupied with ancient cemeteries of various forms and construc-

tions. Many are simple apartments excavated in the solid rock. Others consist of deep pits or wells sunk in the mountain. They are commonly square. One which I examined was but partially cleared of sand and rubbish, and a number of men were employed in the completion of the work. They had already descended sixty or seventy feet. The pit was at least twenty feet square, excavated in the solid rock. Immense quantities of human remains lay scattered in all directions around its mouth, and the bucket came up several times, while we were there, filled with fragments — ribs, thigh-bones, sculls, &c. I was struck with the great thickness of the latter, and reminded of an observation made by an ancient historian, who ascribes this peculiarity of the Egyptians to their going with the head uncovered. The immense quantity of bones found in this tomb would lead us to conclude that it may have been a place of public interment, or, perhaps, a general receptacle for human skeletons after they had reposed in other cemeteries until the flesh had decayed. This usage prevails at present in several countries of Europe, though I know not that we have any proof that such a custom belonged to the ancient Egyptians. These pits vary in dimensions from the one here described, which was about twenty feet square, and the largest I saw, to five or six feet square.

The most numerous and important class of cemeteries in the vicinity of the Pyramids is composed of oblong mausolea, constructed of immense blocks of stone, the walls inclining inward like those of the Pyramids, the roofs flat, and surmounted by parapets one or two feet high. These consist sometimes of several rooms, in which fragments of human skeletons are generally found. Many hieroglyphics and carved figures, and relics of ancient paintings, are discovered on their walls. It is very remarkable, that in all these mausolea a passage or well exists, leading to the

depth of sixty feet or more, where human remains are always found.

From the top of the Pyramid the spectator looks down upon a great extent of country, stretching north and south along the edge of the Desert, and covered with ancient sepulchral monuments. They are said to extend southward as far as the Pyramids of Dashour, a distance of ten miles. It was the burying-ground of old Memphis; and while the habitations of the living, and all the magnificent structures of that great city are perfectly obliterated, its tombs have survived the ravages of nearly thirty centuries, and are likely still to endure until the dissolution of all terrestrial things.

The object for which the Pyramids were constructed has given rise to much learned controversy, without leading to any conclusions that have proved generally satisfactory. It seems yet to be doubted whether they were built for tombs, temples, or the depositories of royal treasures. I possess no competency to decide antiquarian questions, but I am unable to participate in the prevailing doubts with regard to this subject. The Pyramids are surrounded by tombs and other receptacles of the dead. The largest of them contains a sarcophagus, which was certainly placed in the apartment it now occupies before the completion of the edifice. The rest have similar passages and chambers, and a general resemblance prevails among them all, which demonstrates a common design. The Egyptians are known to have bestowed the utmost care upon the remains of the dead, and the sentiment or superstition which led to the erection of the humbler tombs that cover the Desert, would naturally incline a monarch of absolute power and unlimited resources to secure his memory from oblivion, or his ashes from profanation, by more imposing and less perishable structures. The size and sumptuousness of the Pyramids is no objection to the theory which presumes that they were only used as cemeteries. There is nothing in the construction to indicate that they were designed for

treasuries, temples, or astronomical observatories. They have no fitness for these purposes. If, in some of their arrangements, they appear as little adapted to the objects of a cemetery, the objection is, in this case, answered by the fact that they are known to have been so employed, while there is no proof, direct or indirect, that they had ever any connexion, actual or intended, with the other objects supposed.

Standing upon the Pyramids, and looking down upon the monumental city that surrounds their bases, and stretches to so great a distance southward along the verge of the Libyan Desert, I could but feel that the two learned and celebrated controversies with regard to the design of the Pyramids, and the site of ancient Memphis, go far towards explaining each other. The existence of this vast cemetery demonstrates the previous existence of a populous city in its immediate vicinity. The customs of this country in ancient and modern times required that the dead should be interred beyond the precincts of the habitations of the living. Considerations of convenience would ensure the choice of a place of sepulture at the nearest suitable point. The Desert afforded unlimited and most desirable facilities for this purpose, and, after all the desolations of time, it is still covered with tombs from the Pyramids of Ghizeh to those of Saccara. These, in the absence of all satisfactory proofs in favour of any conflicting hypothesis, I must think sufficient reasons for believing that Memphis and its suburbs occupied the plain still encumbered with the rubbish of a vast, unknown city, and now covered with wheat-fields and palm-groves, which intervenes between this field of sepulchres and the Nile. The great extent given to the ancient metropolis of Egypt by this hypothesis will be no insuperable objection, if a liberal allowance is made for enclosed gardens, fauxbourgs, &c.

Many of the stones employed in the construction of the

Pyramids and tombs are of a very large size. I measured one which was twenty-seven feet long by more than eight in height. The width was concealed in the body of the Pyramid. A large number of these blocks are fifteen or twenty feet in length, by five or six in their other dimensions.

Nearly opposite to the central Pyramid on the south, and distant perhaps fifty or sixty rods, is the celebrated Sphynx. This immense statue has the face, neck, and breast of a man and the body of a lion. It is nearly buried in the sand, no part being visible at present but the head, breast, and shoulders. The whole length, as stated by those who measured this statue after the laborious excavations of Caviglia had freed it from sand, is 130 feet. The neck and head are twenty-seven feet high, the width across the breast thirty-three feet. The paws extend fifty feet in front of the figure, which rests upon its belly. These, which are now buried in the sand, were found by Caviglia to be covered with inscriptions. A small temple stood between the outstretched feet of the Sphynx; and an altar, some sculptured lions, and tablets inscribed with hieroglyphics, were discovered in front of the temple. The headdress has the appearance of a huge wig. The ears are very large and prominent, and appear unnatural. The nose is broken off, and the eyes are mutilated. Still the expression is benignant and agreeable, and *human* much beyond what one would think possible in a figure so colossal, so disproportioned to the human stature, and, withal, so mutilated. It is said to be constructed of one immense rock, which was reduced to its present form by Thotmes IV., B.C. 1446.*

The encroachments of the Desert have hidden almost the whole of this wonderful statue from our observation. The action of the wind almost immediately replaced the sand which Caviglia, with infinite perseverance and considerable expense, had toiled many months to excavate.

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 511

He was, however, rewarded by valuable discoveries, and subsequent travellers have been contented to rely on his statements rather than repeat his labours. The Sphynx is peculiarly exposed to the inundations from the Desert, from its position, which I should think 100 feet below the base of the Pyramids.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

Visit to the Lunatic Asylum.—Situation.—Detestable Management.—Donkeys.—Donkey Boys.—Their Character and Habits.—Skill in Languages.—Competition.—Gains.—Precocity.—Advancement.—Thronged Streets.—Smoking.—Pipes.—An Official and his Suite.—Progress in the Crowd.—Market-day.—Aspect of the Throng.—The Arabs.—Copts.—Nubians.—Negroes.—Bedouins.—Franks.—Condition and Character of the Copts.—Benefits of Christianity.—Bigotry.—Armenians.—The Mohammedans.—Growing Skepticism.—Zeal of the Populace.—Call to Prayer.—Religious Fidelity.—Remissness of Christians.—Of Protestants.—Prostrations.—Publicity.—God acknowledged.—Predestination.—Religion of Boatmen.—Mohammedan Clergy.—Schools.—El Azhar.—Mosques.—Respect for the Poor.—Amusements.—Charities.—Fountains.—Asylum for Cats.—Dogs.—Egyptian Women.—Veils.—Riding-dress.—Tattooing.—Painting.—Precocity.—Ornaments.—Blindness.—Its Causes.—Mutilations.—One-eyed Corps.—Public Labourers.—Police.—Dread and Hatred of the Viceroy.—Oppressions.—Missionary Efforts.—The Wesleyans.—American Missionaries in Egypt.—English Mission and Schools—Restoration of the Jews.

No traveller should leave Cairo without visiting the Lunatic Asylum, which is situated in a very crowded part of the city, near the Turkish bazar. It is not an extensive establishment. I saw only a small portion of it, which I was assured, however, was a fair specimen of the whole. It occupies a quadrangular edifice, which encloses an open or unroofed court. Into this court we were conducted through a long narrow passage, itself no part of the asylum, but rather a public way, at least for a part of its length. Having entered the court, we were in the midst of the a-

tablishment, surrounded by the keepers and the patients. The latter were confined in cells which are entered from the court. They are very small, hardly more than three feet high, and, with the exception of the faint light which shines through the grated door from the court, perfectly dark. The court itself is very imperfectly lighted. The entrances to these dungeons are not much larger than the mouth of a common brick oven. The unfortunate patients—they would more properly be called victims—were seated or recumbent close to the iron bars which shut them in. They had not room to stand. A heavy iron collar was locked around the neck of each. To this a chain was attached, which passed through the grate and fastened to a staple in the court. One of these poor wretches was quite naked, having thrown off the scanty rags that constituted his only covering. All were nearly in a state of nudity, and disgustingly filthy. The foul styes in which they wallowed sent forth a horrible and sickening stench, which made our visit short, and our inspection superficial and imperfect. I saw enough, however, to satisfy me of the unspeakable horrors of the place, and I left it deeply disgusted and sick at heart. I never beheld such a sight before; and I would fain believe that the world does not contain another such spectacle of horror. I thanked God for the blessed influences of Christianity, which have banished scenes like this from so many lands, and offered a fervent prayer that its humanizing power might speedily be felt in these ends of the world. I have been told that these poor creatures are subjected to a discipline in keeping with the abominations I have enumerated. If they fail in obedience or good order, the keeper seizes the chain which is attached to the iron collar around the neck, and drags them up to the grate, where such chastisement is administered as passion, or hardened and cold-blooded cruelty may dictate.

I have already mentioned the mode of riding in Egypt.

A few public officers and men of wealth are seen on horses, but ninety-nine in a hundred of those who ride at all, ride upon donkeys. These are the finest animals of the species I have anywhere seen. They are small, seldom exceeding the size of a colt six months old, but their strength and powers of endurance are truly wonderful. They gallop for two hours with little apparent fatigue, and will carry a man or a heavy burden for half a day without intermission, with no more symptoms of suffering than a horse exhibits from the same labour. I think, too, they are much more lively than the animals of the same species which I have seen in Europe. The donkey, as well as the horse, is always accompanied, in Egypt, by the person who has the management of him. He is armed with a whip or rod, which he is wont to use without mercy. The poor animal has commonly a raw place upon the haunches, which is kept bleeding by the cruel driver.

These grooms possess powers of endurance even more surprising than those of the animals to which their fortunes are so closely joined. They are sometimes bearded and turbaned men, but usually boys from ten to twelve or fourteen years of age. They commonly wear a red or white cap, and a blue cotton shirt reaching a little below the knees. In this flowing and picturesque drapery, often without the encumbrance of shoes, the donkey-boy of Cairo follows, for hours together, at a quick trot or full run, urging on the patient beast with encouraging or reproachful words and incessant blows, or rather thrusts of his rod. He is usually merry and waggish, and shrewd above his years, and commonly civil and obliging. Many of these little Jehus, scarcely a dozen years of age, have contrived to acquire as much of Italian, French, and English as will meet the demands of their calling. A dozen voices salute you the moment you enter the street: "Will you ride, sir? A very good donkey: take my donkey, master." If you hesitate for a moment, twenty of these animals are driven furiously towards

you, and you find yourself completely wedged up in the narrow street, jostled from side to side, with perhaps a donkey or two on your toes. A multitude of voices, in a confusion of languages, Arabic, English, French, and Italian, vociferate at once, "Take my donkey—very good donkey. Ici, ici, monsieur, questo, questo, taib," each beating back his angry competitors, and urging himself and his beast upon your choice. The annoyance of these scenes, which are met with perpetually, is excessive, and often attended with much inconvenience. If, to avoid the tumult, a servant is sent to order a donkey to the door, it is likely that, upon descending the stairs, you will find a dozen of these animals wedged into the alley, and rendering egress impossible. The same boisterous scene is to be encountered as before, with this advantage perhaps, that by keeping your own side of the threshold you can avoid being trampled upon. It is often quite impossible to extricate one's self without a resort to force, and I have seen gentlemen compelled to open their way by a free use of the cane. The very low price of donkey-hire would, it should seem, act as an antidote to this obtrusive eagerness for employment. The usual pay for a donkey and his driver a whole day is only five or six piasters. A ride to any part of the city costs one piaster, and other times and distances in about the same proportion. It seems incredible that the subsistence of these two operatives should not cost a larger sum. Provisions, however, are very cheap, and the Arab, as well as his domestic animals, especially the donkey, is inured to abstemious diet. They also make a very free use of whatever article of food may fall in the way. In my rides without the town I observed the grooms steal clover or green wheat without scruple whenever they had occasion for forage. They often made their own dinner on clover, which the Arabs eat with much relish.

A good donkey costs 400 or 500 piasters. Low as

their hire is, it is thought a good business. One boy of perhaps twelve or thirteen years of age, whom I generally patronised, had, by good economy, saved enough money to buy four of these animals. With these, and a hundred piasters in money, he regarded himself rich. It was, at least, a pleasing instance of successful enterprise in a country where there is so little encouragement to industry. It shows also the precocity of boys here, who are at least five years in advance of American or European youths of the same age in their capabilities and comparative maturity. This humble profession has some peculiar encouragements. It is from the ranks of the donkey-boys that many waiters in hotels, servants to the Franks, and dragomen are taken. The mode of life is highly favourable to the early development of tact and impudence. I have already mentioned their skill in languages, which they mostly learn from their Frank customers, as they run along by the side of their donkeys. A good-natured stranger, who will answer their questions kindly, seldom rides out without adding to the knowledge of these young Peripatetics.

The streets of Cairo are filled with a teeming population, and there is no part of London or Paris where one encounters a more dense crowd than is met with in all the principal thoroughfares. There is much appearance of idleness everywhere, though there is no lack of bustle. Multitudes are seen hanging about the shops, or seated in coffee-houses with a pipe in the mouth. Smoking seems to constitute the great enjoyment of the Egyptians, as it does no inconsiderable part of their employment. Nearly every second shop sells tobacco or pipes, and you see as many persons employed in cutting tobacco for smoking, as you do of bakers or shoemakers. Cleaning pipes is a distinct profession, and many persons are seen walking the streets, carrying the implements of their craft, which consist of a number of long wires placed in a tube or hollow stick. The poorest Arab has his long pipe, and it forms a conspicuous and indis-

pensable part of a gentleman's outfit. The amber mouthpiece, upon which the rich Egyptian lavishes his money and taste, as the Dutchman does on the bowl, often costs ten, twenty, or forty dollars. The tobacco-pouch is deposited in his bosom, with its gay border, embroidered with silks or gold, conspicuously displayed. A servant follows him as he rides through the streets, bearing aloft this indispensable instrument of luxury. The most thorough devotee to the nicotian weed might be well satisfied with the consideration and dignity conceded to his chosen indulgence, could he see, as I have often done, a janizary in his flaunting livery, and mounted on a sleek donkey, following a bey through the streets of Cairo, holding aloft, above the receding crowd, a pipe nearly two yards in length, with its splendid amber mouthpiece and gorgeous silken case. A footman commonly runs before such a dignitary, who rides on a horse richly caparisoned in scarlet and gold. The multitude rush to the right and left to make way for him.

Much respectability seems to be attached to riding on horseback. Such a display is, however, avoided by all but public officers and a few rich persons, as all appearances of wealth serve to invite extortion and plunder.

The Turkish horse is a noble animal, full of spirit and action, and of lofty bearing.

It is wonderful how a donkey makes his way along the densely-crowded streets. I have often thought it would be quite impossible to pass one of these living masses that block up the thoroughfares of Cairo; but, yielding myself to the guidance of the donkey and his driver, I always succeeded in finding a passage. The sagacious animal gallops quite up to the multitude, presses against them, and urges his way along carefully but surely. The boy cries out to those whose attention is too much absorbed. He thrusts with his rod at the camels, whose enormous loads threaten to sweep away donkey and rider, and seem to fill the whole

street, urging them close to one side or the other. You jostle donkeys and their riders, or their leathern bags of water. You butt against women with enormous jars or trays upon their heads, and find yourself offering unintelligible apologies in English or French. Your knees and toes are perpetually coming in contact with persons standing before the stalls, often urging them in upon the premises of the tradesman with little ceremony. In the end, you succeed in your object you cannot tell how, having jostled everybody and been jostled by everybody, but without inflicting or receiving any serious injury. You have only got a foot wet by drippings from the huge leathern bottles of water on the back of a camel, or a grease-spot by wiping the pantaloons against a jar of oil, and the eyes and mouth filled with dust.

These are incidents that belong to a ride in the streets at any time. On a market or fête day the difficulties and liabilities are of the same kind, differing only in degree; but the additional exposure is compensated by the unwonted activity and odd sights which then give life and interest to the bazars. The stalls are much more thronged than usual, and, in addition to this, almost every person in the street has some article for sale, which he urges upon you with many earnest protestations of its good qualities and low price. One has a pair of pistols or a cimeter in his hand; another, his arms filled with yellow slippers or red caps; another has a girdle or a turban, which he raises aloft or waves in the air; a fourth carries a carpet and several pieces of showy calicoes upon his head. Almost every portable article of traffic is thus exhibited in the crowded street. The living mass is in constant motion. Every one is striving to attract attention to his own particular wares, by exhibiting them as conspicuously as possible, and by many vociferations. The scene is unique, and, for once or twice, highly interesting to the stranger.

The busy throng of people, without reference to their employments, is a fruitful subject for observation. In the crowds of a European or American city, the natives of various countries are only distinguishable by their language. The dress of the inhabitants of all civilized nations is essentially the same, and the external evidences of their place of nativity are obscure or wholly imaginary. In the East, as among all partially civilized men, not only the people of each particular nation, but every tribe and sect, have their distinguishing dress, to which they adhere with all the tenacity inspired by national pride and religious prejudices.

The costumes seen in the streets of Cairo are exceedingly various and striking, and they are worn by men of every shade, from the jet-black negro to the transparent white of the Circassian and Georgian, who mingle indiscriminately in all places of public resort. The Arabs, for so the native Egyptians are called, who are the most numerous class, have, in general, nearly the complexion of our mulattoes. They are finely proportioned, and of good stature. I have hardly seen one below the average height of Europeans, and, I think, not one six feet high. They have prominent, broad foreheads, large straight noses, and ample mouths, with fine white teeth. The eyes are black, piercing, and deep set. I think a phrenologist would pronounce them more intellectual than the European races. Their limbs are well formed and muscular, made for symmetry and strength. They have broad, large, flat feet. I have not observed a single individual who showed any tendency to corpulency. Upon the whole, I have never seen so fine a race of men—a remark which I applied to the Greeks before I came to Egypt.

The Copts are the next most numerous race. I confess I am unable to perceive any very striking physical differences between them and the Arabs. Their complexion is, perhaps, a little fairer, but the difference is not greater than

may be accounted for by the more nutritious food and indoor employments of the reputed descendants of the ancient Egyptians. The black turban commonly worn by the Copts perhaps increases the apparent difference, by giving to their complexion the benefit of a contrast.

The Nubians, who are numerous, are darker than the Arabs, and their features, too, are more decidedly African. The lips are thicker and the nose flatter than those of the Arab; still they are not negroes. Their hair has more resemblance to the coarse, glossy locks of our Indians than to the woolly heads of the natives of Guinea.

Negro slaves, the blackest of their race, with all its physical peculiarities, are numerous. They are certainly more intellectual and sprightly in their appearance than our Africans, free or slaves. They are mostly household servants. Many of them are soldiers in the army of the pacha. I have seen a few engaged as merchants and mechanics, who were probably freedmen, a privilege to which many of them are admitted. Their colour seems not to be considered a mark of inferiority. Indeed, they are regarded, and esteem themselves, superior to the common Arabs. This probably arises from their being generally in better situations, better fed and clad, and from the fact that under the Mameluke rule, as well as since, they have formed a very efficient portion of the military force of the country, and have risen to honourable employments, military and civil. They all begin their career as slaves. The pacha recruits his black corps through the slave-market.

The streets of Cairo commonly exhibit, in addition to the classes I have enumerated, a considerable number of Bedouins, or wandering Arabs from the Desert, which approaches to the gates of the city. They are a little darker than the Fellahs or Egyptian-Arab peasantry; their features are more harsh and savage, but still there are points of like-

ness which sufficiently mark the fraternity of these two branches of the Ishmaelite race.

The Franks in Cairo are variously estimated, by intelligent men of their own number, at from 800 to 3000 persons. Italy is the most numerously represented; next I suppose the French, and then the English. The latter are, as a class, the most respectable of the European residents of Cairo. There are Spaniards and Germans, and a few representatives from most European countries. Among the Franks I was told that there are only a few individuals who possess either wealth or character. A very large majority are something worse than adventurers from their native lands. Judging from the appearance of their shops, which are numerous in the city, few of them are engaged in large and respectable business; and persons acquainted in Cairo, Franks as well as natives, do not fail to advise the stranger for whom they happen to feel any interest, that he should avoid the Frank shops if he would not be cheated or robbed. I record the testimony of persons, chiefly Franks, who had opportunities for forming correct opinions on this subject, which I did not enjoy. I was happy in becoming acquainted with several gentlemen to whom this description would be most inapplicable.

I felt a special interest in making inquiries in reference to the Copts, who, as the reputed descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and as the most important class of native Christians, merit the particular attention of the American and European traveller. It is more a subject of regret than astonishment, that centuries of oppression have left few valuable traits in the character of this people. They have the reputation of being dishonest and false even beyond the Arabs. They are almost universally in better circumstances than the native Mohammedans; and it is, perhaps, to the envy arising from their superior condition that we ought to ascribe in part at least, the bad reputation which they have

among their neighbours. Another circumstance which must have a tendency to make them unpopular, is the employment of so many of them in the collection of the taxes. They are reputed expert accountants, and they are the bookkeepers in every department of the public administration. To this employment their education is especially directed, and it is certainly some evidence in favour of their integrity, that a government hostile to their faith should intrust them with interests so important. The Copts are professional and hereditary scribes. Some of them engage in trade, but scarcely one in Cairo is employed in common labour. In upper Egypt many are agriculturists. I was assured that in the metropolis a majority of the men are in the offices of the government. They have commonly some property, though they avoid every appearance of affluence, in order not to provoke the jealousy of Mohammedans and the exactions of the government. Their houses are said to exhibit a degree of comfort and neatness very unlike those of other Egyptians. In this respect the Gospel fulfils, even to the least pure of its votaries, the promise of "the world that now is." Christians are, I believe, everywhere better off in their worldly condition than the infidels or heathen around them. This is certainly one of the least considerable benefactions of the Gospel; but the fact has often struck me forcibly, and it affords an argument in favour of Christianity which is calculated to exert great influence over a certain class of persons. The observation is capable of a more extensive application, and I think it will always be found that the prosperity and domestic comforts of a Christian people vary, very nearly, with the purity of their faith and practice—with the degree of their approximation to the high standard of the Gospel.

The Copts are trained for the stations which they fill, and there their education stops. They have no learned

men. The clergy, though ignorant, are respectable for the uprightness of their lives.

They are proverbial for their bigotry, and prefer Mohammedanism to any form of Christianity besides their own. Many of them apostatize, with the hope of gaining the favour of the ruling powers, or from other mercenary motives. They have 130 churches and convents in Egypt, and many more in ruins. They number 150,000 souls. 5000 have become Catholics, as have many of the native Greek Christians. The Copts circumcise, confess to their priests, and abstain from swines' flesh. They are Jacobites in their creed.

An intelligent clergyman, long a resident in Egypt, and well acquainted with its religious state, assured me that he had not met with one person who appeared to have any tolerable idea of the way of salvation by Christ, or any hopeful marks of spirituality. He applied this remark to Copts, Greeks, Armenians, and Catholics, Latins as well as Greeks.

The Armenians are not numerous, but they are comparatively a wealthy and influential class. They act as bankers, money-changers, &c.

I often heard it asserted, when in Egypt, that a good many Mohammedans of the higher classes manifest a growing indifference to the precepts of their fatih. I had no opportunity to satisfy myself of the correctness of this opinion, but cannot doubt that increasing intercourse with Europeans, and the growing prevalence of their manners and fashions, may lead, in many instances, to the neglect of some of the stricter precepts of the Koran. There is, no doubt, a considerable number of persons who only practice the rites of the prevailing religion from the force of education or from considerations of prudence. These are prepared to yield to slight temptations those dogmas of their creed which impose disagreeable restraints upon their

growing appetite for European indulgences. This indifference is understood to extend to the pacha and many of his high officers—a circumstance that must greatly strengthen the tendency to unbelief, and shelter delinquents from reproach, as well as more serious danger. I am not aware, however, that this neglect or contempt of the injunctions of the Prophet is accompanied by any symptoms of a growing respect for the Gospel. A propensity to adopt the vices of Christians is nearly universal among the less civilized and wealthy nations of whatever creed, and it affords very sure grounds for expecting increased corruption of manners among them, but has not, that I am aware of, led, in any instance, to the adoption of Christianity.

Whatever may be true of the higher classes, the common people are evidently strong in their devotion to Mohammedanism. They attend, in great numbers, upon the service of the mosque, as I had many opportunities of observing. Before daybreak, a person employed for the purpose ascends the lofty minaret, and with a shrill, sonorous voice, calls the faithful to their devotions. This call is repeated four times in the day—at noon, between three and four P.M., at sunset, and again about two hours after. My apartments in Cairo were close to a large mosque, and I was commonly waked at five in the morning by the loud voice of the muezzin. To this hour the whole city was still. Not a footstep or a word was heard in the street, the teeming population being still buried in sleep. In the midst of this deep silence, the loud call to devotion falls upon the ear. It is repeated from mosque to mosque throughout the city. There are three hundred of these in Cairo, and so many shrill, loud voices from the high minarets are joined in chanting the words which are appointed for this service. The effect is thrilling and solemn in a high degree, and the circumstances admirably adapted to promote devotional feeling. The multitudes who hasten to the house of prayer

in answer to this moving invitation, appear solemn and devout. It is impossible not to respect their unquestionable sincerity, though every true Christian must feel the most lively pity for their deplorable errors, and will seldom hear the call from the minaret without lifting up an earnest prayer for a deeply deluded people, whose devotions consist almost entirely in endless repetitions of a form which exalts the impostor as the true prophet of God, and thus effectually dishonours and rejects the Saviour. "There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet," is an epitome of the creed and worship of the Mussulman, which is heard everywhere with infinite and most tiresome iteration. Prayer seems to be thought acceptable in proportion to the number of times it gives utterance to this fundamental dogma. It is the burden of the call from the minarets, as well as of the devotions within the mosques; and the peasants and sailors, in their prayers, say almost nothing else. No method could be devised better calculated to fix a deep impression upon the minds and hearts of the people. Mohammed discovered in this, as in many other usages and dogmas which belong to his system, a deep insight into the laws of the human mind. This skilful adaptation of his system, together with its exemption from many of the absurdities and abominations which render other false religions revolting to the common feelings and sense of mankind, wherever civilization and intelligence have begun to operate, will probably secure Mohammedanism a longer duration than any of the forms of paganism are destined to enjoy. They may account for the extreme tenacity with which Moslems usually adhere to their faith, and for the very trifling success with which missionary labours among them have been attended.

I have often been forcibly struck with the fidelity and courage with which these people perform their religious duties. When the hour of prayer arrives, the peasant stops his oxen or lays aside the implements of his labour. If

circumstances permit, he performs the prescribed ablutions, and, turning his face towards the holy city, bows his head to the earth, and repeats the appointed words with the utmost seriousness. I have observed the same thing among the boatmen on the Nile. They kneel on the deck, or in the hold, or on the shore, as their employments allow, but they generally attend to their duties with a decency and punctuality from which many Christians might learn a valuable lesson. Tradesmen and merchants kneel in their shops, in full view of the street, and no one seems to have the least wish to conceal his devotions, or omits them because unable to withdraw from the public eye. There may be not a little ostentation in many of these exhibitions. This is a danger to which our nature is exposed, and it is to guard the votaries of a more sublime and pure faith against this inherent tendency to formality and hypocrisy, that they are enjoined to enter into the closet and shut the door when they pray. Still I must think the disposition to conceal the manifestations of religious feeling is frequently carried far beyond the spirit of this injunction. It too often amounts to fastidiousness and cowardice—sometimes, I fear, to being ashamed of Christ and his words. This is eminently the fault of Protestants in comparison with the members of the Catholic and Greek churches. I heard it said in Greece that Englishmen and Americans were thought to have no religion, because they were never seen to practise the rites of any. A traveller in Italy hears the same unfavourable opinions expressed by Roman Catholics. Mohammedans, too, are said to use this circumstance as an argument against the sincerity of Christians generally. All this is unquestionably better than ostentatious hypocrisy, which, being destructive of the religion of the heart, is the greatest of possible evils. Is there not a middle course exempt from this danger? May not a Christian confess the Redeemer before men without falling into spiritual pride and hypocrisy?

Ought not his light to shine in the positive manifestations of his religion, as well as in the mild lustre of those virtues which are the growth of internal piety? I confess I have often felt reproached by the undisguised and courageous consistency of Catholics, and even Mohammedans; and under the influence of their example, have more than once resolved to guard against such a cautious and stealthy performance of duty as infidels may construe into indifference and distrust of the Gospel, and such, may we not fear, as Christ will regard as a denial of him before men.

The prayer of the Mohammedan is accompanied by many prostrations, of which a certain number is prescribed for each season of devotion. He turns his face towards Mecca and utters some words. He then bows his head, falls on his knees, and, finally, resting upon the hands, he presses his nose and forehead to the earth. He then rises to his knees, utters the prescribed words, and bows to the earth once more, passing through the same evolutions again and again. We always stopped for the night, during our voyages on the Nile, near some village, and had opportunity to see many of the Fellahs at their devotion. They came to the river, often waded into it, and washed their hands, face, feet, legs, and every part which their loose dress allowed them to reach with their ablutions; then, ascending the bank, they went through with the ceremonies I have just described. I saw a high officer of the pacha go through with the same devotional exercise in one of the splendid rooms of the palace in Cairo. A servant spread a carpet in the centre of the room, and the door was open to the public, who had the edifying example of piety in one so exalted.

One hears God acknowledged in the common language of the people with a frequency which, if it were accompanied with a rational and reverential sense of His presence and universal agency, would be gratifying to the feelings of

a devout and enlightened Christian. Accompanied, as it is in the Mohammedan, by almost none of the virtues of true piety, it soon becomes offensive. Ask a boatman how long we shall be in gaining the next town, and his answer is, "If it please God to send a good wind, we shall reach it in so many hours." "It will be as God wills." "That depends on God—I pray God to give you a fair wind." They ascribe all afflictions and accidents to the Divine interposition, and derive from it an argument in favour of submission—an argument that seems to produce in their minds *willing* submission. This is certainly the legitimate effect of their creed, which ascribes all events to absolute, unalterable destiny. It is, perhaps, among Mohammedans alone, that practical and consistent fatalists are found. This doctrine has a very mischievous and paralyzing influence upon them, and at least strengthens the indolence which is perhaps produced by the relaxing effects of the climate.

The disposition to acknowledge the Divine agency in everything, appears in a great variety of instances. The boatmen call on God and Mohammed for help when they attempt to raise a heavy burden, or to shove the boat off from a bank of mud or sand. They pull the towline and ply the oar to the time of a song or chorus which implores the divine aid. "We are men of God. O Prophet, give us strength. Allah, help us!" The song is often divided, one part of the boat's company, more commonly a single person, uttering a sentiment, to which the rest make a response. "We are the men of God!" *Response.*—"O Prophet, give us strength. Allah, help us!" The effect is not unpleasant, and if one could hope there was anything of the spirit of piety in the performance, it would be delightful. I am, of course, indebted to others for the sense of the boatmen's song, though it is so often repeated as to impress itself upon the memory of those who do not understand the language. I have given only a brief sample, which may,

however, serve to show the manner of this rustic harmony. There is great sameness in their simple songs, as well as in the Mohammedan prayers. They are chiefly made up of reiterations.

The Mohammedan priesthood are commonly ignorant, uneducated men, whose attainments in learning seldom go beyond an ability to read the public lessons from the Koran. In the service of the large mosques of the cities, several grades are recognised, all subject to the direction of the nazir or rector, who manages the funds, appoints the imams or preachers, muezzins, doorkeepers, and all the inferior employés of the establishment. The salaries and other expenses of public worship are defrayed from permanent endowments in money and lands which have been consecrated to this purpose by pious individuals. The compensation allowed to the clergy is very trifling. Imams in Cairo do not get above one piaster for performing the weekly service, or five piasters, about twenty-five cents, per month. They engage in other occupations for a livelihood. They are displaced at the pleasure of the nazir, and, with their employments in the mosque, lose the sacerdotal character.

The large mosques commonly have schools attached to them, where boys are taught to write, and to read the Koran. The master sits upon a mat spread on the pavement of the mosque, with his pupils sitting in a circle around him, reading or chanting aloud from small white tablets of wood, on which are written some passages from the Koran, or other lessons. The boys keep time to the chant by moving their bodies backward and forward.

The schools of the great mosque of El Azhar, in Cairo, might well be denominated a university, where the Arabic Language, History, and the Philosophy of Aristotle are gratuitously taught, not only to a great number of the natives of Egypt, but to students from Persia, Nubia, Syria, Kurdistan, Turkey, and all parts of Northern Africa. They are gratuitously lodged and fed as well as taught in the mosque.

The reigning pacha has appropriated the endowments, especially the lands of a great number of the mosques, to his own use, and granted, in their stead, small annuities, from the public treasury. He is, on this account, very odious to the priesthood.

The mosques, besides being occupied for schools, are frequently resorted to by idlers for conversation and amusement, and a number of persons may usually be seen eating and sleeping there in the afternoon. Still the Mohammedans have great reverence for their holy places. They take off their shoes on entering them; and before the changes effected in religious, as well as other affairs, by Mohammed Ali, Christians were not allowed to pass some of the large mosques of Cairo.

It is pleasing to observe the absence of all restraint and distinction which prevails in the occasional assemblages of the people about the mosques and elsewhere. All classes, especially the poor, are grievously oppressed by the government; but some atonement is made to the feelings of the sufferer by the general equality which despotism effects among all who come under its sway. In some instances, considerable care is bestowed to provide for the wants and pleasures of the people, and they seem to be endowed by nature, beyond most races of men, with an instinctive tendency to be merry and happy. The poorest display in juggling or buffoonery is sufficient to put a large crowd in ecstasies. Any vagrant who will sing a distich, make grimaces, or play antics in the street, becomes, in a moment, the centre of a laughing and enraptured multitude, that quite blocks up the passage. Nobody seems disposed to complain of such interruptions, but rather to partake of the common gratification, and be content to take some other way, or wait till the sport is over.

I one day met with a wedding-party in Cairo, composed of many persons mounted on donkeys and camels, with one

or two elephants in the cavalcade, some fantastically dressed in many colours, some singing or playing on rustic musical instruments, some seated with their faces towards the tails of their animals, all boisterous and reckless, and using all sorts of comic and waggish arts to amuse the rabble. They were followed through the principal streets by a vast multitude, that completely closed up the way, and put a stop to all passing and business. Nobody interfered with them, and they were allowed to keep up, as long as they pleased, a scene of uproar and confusion, which in any other part of the world would have been put down at once by the police. This forbearance on the part of the public authorities from interrupting the people in their humble enjoyments, is a pleasing evidence that sentiments of kindness may be felt by the most tyrannical rulers, and that long-established customs may secure some trifling immunities where political institutions afford no protection. There are not wanting instances of a regard for the common welfare entitled to higher praise.

The public fountains, which are very numerous in Cairo, are establishments which seem to be kept up for the especial benefit of the poor. Besides a considerable number from which water is obtained and carried away in vessels for domestic purposes, there are others designed solely to furnish water for drinking to persons who are passing by. A number of these are fitted up with pipes projecting a little beyond the wall of the building into the street, to which the thirsty porter or muleteer, ascending by two or three steps, applies his mouth and sucks in the refreshing beverage. Others are arranged in a more costly and tasteful manner, and elegant buildings are devoted to this very useful purpose in many of the principal streets. The front of the edifice containing the reservoir is formed of lattice-work gaudily painted, and often richly gilded. A row of bright brass or copper cups stand just within this screen, which are kept

filled with pure water by a person employed for this purpose. Whoever pleases, mounts up two or three steps from the street, takes the cup through a small aperture left for the purpose, and drinks to his satisfaction. It is a pleasant sight to look upon the ill-clad multitudes, who, with now and then a person of more respectable appearance, in rapid and orderly succession come to enjoy the benefit of these unique and excellent accommodations. Each cup is fastened by a chain just long enough to allow the Arab to quench his thirst, without indulging another of his propensities quite as strong, and hardly less general. I saw nothing in Cairo which gave me more pleasure than these instances of attention to the comfort of a people in general so neglected and oppressed.

These fountains are under the charge of a public officer, whose duty it is to keep them in repair, and see that proper order is observed in their use. They have generally been erected by benevolent individuals for the use of the poor, and have funds for their maintenance.

The benevolence of the Mussulmen, which, in the instance just described, is so usefully exerted to promote the comfort of the common people, is extended to the brute creation. A garden, said to have been bequeathed for the purpose by a pious Arab, is kept up, under the care of a public officer, as an asylum for cats, where a vast number of these animals are regularly supplied with food. The same attention is extended to dogs, which infest the city, and prowl about the mounds of rubbish outside of the walls in incredible numbers. They are esteemed unclean animals, and, in general, have no owners; but it seems to be regarded a part of religious duty to provide for their wants. Troughs are placed in all parts of the town, and under the windows of many of the shops, where food and water are deposited for their use. Very poor people, who do not appear themselves far removed from want, are seen bringing their contributions

of fragments of meat and bread to this humble, and, one would think, useless charity.

With the exception of some Frank strangers, I did not see any females of respectable appearance in the streets of Cairo unveiled. A few of the lowest class disregard the prevailing custom, and appear abroad with their faces uncovered. This is no uncommon sight in the villages along the banks of the Nile, where the usage seems to be less strictly observed than it is in the large towns. In general, however, even the lowest class of females carefully guard their faces from vulgar observation, and any neglect of this custom is regarded as a professed abandonment of modesty and virtue. It is often ludicrous enough to observe the studied care with which a peasant girl covers her face with a fragment of a veil or the corner of her tattered robe, while with the other hand she raises her coats far above the knees to wash her feet and legs, or to wade into the stream for the purpose of filling the huge earthen jar which she carries on her head. It is a prevailing fashion among the lower orders to leave the dress open before, so as to expose the bosom. Nothing seems to be regarded as a breach of modesty if the face is covered.

Respectable females seldom walk in the streets, but ride on asses accompanied by servants. They ride astride, like men, only they use shorter stirrups. The usual riding-dress is an immense sheet of black silk, which rests upon the head and descends below the feet, completely concealing the whole person, with the exception of the eyes, which are seen through small holes made for the purpose. A large harem thus equipped presents a singular appearance. The men yield the street to such a cavalcade, and turn their eyes away from it. A number of these exhibitions are seen every day in the streets of Cairo; still, compared with Europe and America, few ladies in this country appear abroad. It would seem that the desire of seeing is not a motive strong

enough to call them forth from their seclusion, denied, as they are, the additional gratification of being seen.

The lower class of females disfigure themselves by tattooing. Their hands, arms, faces, and bosoms are marked with a variety of figures, imprinted in the skin in blue and black colours. They give a disagreeable appearance to their otherwise regular and beautiful features. Females of all ranks stain the edge of the eyelids, above and below the eye, black. They also dye the nails of both hands and feet, of a yellowish hue; and the same colour is often imparted to the palms of the hands, and to the joints of the fingers and toes. The effect of these artificial tints is at first disagreeable and revolting, but this ceases with a little familiarity.

The eyes, features, and carriage of the Egyptian females are very striking, and even imposing, notwithstanding so many disguises and untasteful modes. They are said to attain the perfection of form and beauty at from twelve to fifteen years of age, and fade very early. I have been assured it is no unusual thing to meet with great-grandmothers under forty years old.

The Egyptian women are fond of ornaments, and are often loaded with strings of beads and other trinkets. Those who can afford it, wear bracelets and metallic ornaments for the head. The veil is frequently suspended by a string of small coins, which descend from the crown over the forehead. I saw a number of Levantine ladies, as the descendants of Franks born in Egypt are called, who were expensively dressed in the style of the country, but it seemed to me guadily and in bad taste.

The traveller is immediately struck, on landing in Egypt, with the great number of blind persons whom he everywhere meets. Many of these unfortunate beings are beggars, and sit at the corners of the streets and other public places, holding up their hands, or sometimes a little cup, to receive alms of the passers-by. Others are led about, com-

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monly by small boys, who seem quite devoted to this service, and to treat them with much kindness and deference. I have often been pleased to observe the readiness with which the crowd makes way for these unfortunates to pass, and the respectful and compassionate regards bestowed on them from every quarter.

The great prevalence of blindness in this country is commonly attributed to the climate. The intense brightness of its cloudless sky dazzles and pains the eye, and, by its constant action, so susceptible an organ is very likely to be injuriously and permanently affected. This pernicious influence is much aggravated by the extreme heat which prevails for so large a part of the year. Probably, however, the impalpable dust with which every breeze is laden, has the principal agency in impairing and destroying vision. No precaution is sufficient to guard the eyes of a person exposed to the open air against this insidious and omnipresent foe.

Besides the large number of persons wholly blind, or whose vision is impaired, there is a class of unfortunates, still more numerous, who see with only one eye. This partial deprivation has, in some instances, been produced by the causes above enumerated, and by other casualties; but it is generally the result of mutilations made by the parents in childhood. It appears almost exclusively in boys and men, and is adopted as a means of escape from the conscription by which the pacha recruits his army and navy. Nothing can exhibit more strikingly the horror entertained by the people for these branches of the public service, than the great prevalence of this unnatural practice. Of a number of boys and young men whom you may chance to meet, three quarters, or a still larger proportion, have, in that way, been deprived of one of their organs of vision. Other means, equally shocking to humanity, are also resorted to, to disqualify for the odious profession of arms, such as cutting off

the forefinger of the right hand, and extracting the teeth in order to unfit the person for biting off the end of a cartridge in loading a musket. It is very common to see a man who has ost an eye and a forefinger, and there are many instances in which all these disqualifications for martial pursuits are observed in the same person, the strange results of parental affection resorting to all possible means for securing a beloved child against a course of life which seems to be regarded, in this country, with a peculiar abhorrence. The pacha, as I was informed, in order to prevent these horrible mutilations, has organized a one-eyed corps. I have seen many of his one-eyed soldiers, and in this instance his stern policy accords with the dictates of benevolence. No remedy could be devised so likely to be successful as the one actually adopted.

Those who have rendered themselves unfit for the army and navy are frequently employed on the public works, or in the manufacturing and agricultural enterprises of the pacha, which require a great number of labourers. These employments are less odious than military pursuits, and are often sought as the best way of obtaining an exemption from the conscription, the employés of the government being free from its operation. The pay of these labourers is something better than the soldiers, amounting to a piaster a day, but they have no appointments or perquisites, while the soldier, in addition to half that sum per diem, has a partial supply of food and clothing. Besides this disadvantage, the labourer as well as the soldier is paid with great irregularity, being compelled to wait for half or the whole of his wages a year or eighteen months. In the mean time he must provide for his family, for every man eighteen or twenty years of age is married. This he is compelled to do by dishonest means, and, it is said, the gardens and fields of the pacha often contribute a clandestine subsistence to the cultivators, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, nature and necessity being stronger

than the edicts of the sternest tyranny. Should the labourer, weary of toiling for an insufficient and precarious compensation, attempt to escape from his great taskmaster, he is sure to be seized in the next village and sent into the army. The police of this terrible and omnipresent government is so perfect, that it is quite impossible to elude its vigilance. The sheik of every street in the town, and every village in the country, is made responsible for all under his charge. If a stranger comes into his jurisdiction, he is expected to explain his objects, and to give satisfactory proof that his pursuits are lawful. Every avenue to escape is thus closed against the subjects of the pacha, and an absolute despair of shaking off the heavy yoke has, perhaps, some tendency to mitigate its grievousness, and produce resignation. The spirit of the people seems to be absolutely extinct under the influence of this crushing tyranny, and I doubt if they could be induced to make any effort for their own deliverance. They seem to be kept in awe by the sole terror of the pacha's name. Soldiers are seldom seen out of a few of the chief cities. I have travelled for days, and entered a considerable number of the populous villages upon the banks of the Nile, without seeing a single military uniform. A policeman or two, armed with a rusty pike or a crazy musket, occasionally makes his appearance at the landing-places to ask bucksheesh for having guarded your boat against robbers, though he has only come in sight the moment you are about to unmoor and set sail. One of these guardians of public order became insolent on being refused a gratuity, and, planting himself by the stake to which our boat was secured, bid our crew to raise it at their peril. They all gave back like men accustomed to reverence public authority. The armed functionary, however, quailed before a resolute threat, accompanied by the show of a heavy stick, and quietly allowed us to depart.

With all of this unresisting submission to the pacha's au-

thority, even when unsustained by physical force, there is a deep and universal hatred for his government and person, not the less rancorous for being accompanied with unresisting despair. Every one who dares to speak gives utterance to this feeling whenever he can get the ear of a foreigner or other person not likely to betray him. The constant interference with domestic comfort and personal liberty by the conscription, and by impressment to labour in public works, seems to be regarded the heaviest grievance. The perpetual apprehension produced by this system is, perhaps, more injurious to the repose and confidence of private life, than even its actual operations.

The excessive taxation, which extends to every person and pursuit, is another fruitful cause for complaint. The pacha taxes the land to the utmost it can pay. This is no new thing, though the burden has been much aggravated under his sway. He also lays a tax on domestic animals—the camel, the ass, the ox, the sheep, and the cow. Each palm-tree is the object of a distinct impost. The wheel and rude machinery employed in irrigation, pay fifteen dollars per annum. After all this, a poll tax is imposed on every tradesman and labourer, of whatever pursuit. The amount, which is very various, may be conjectured from the fact that a month's wages is kept back from the pay of labourers employed by the government at one piaster a day. Indirect taxation, in its turn, exacts an additional contribution from the peasant in the purchase of all imported, and many domestic articles. No system of revenue, perhaps, ever pressed upon a people with a weight so terrible and annihilating. A soil that produces abundantly, a benignant climate that renders human existence tolerable at the least possible expense, and a race of men patient of hunger, and nakedness, and oppression, which they have inherited from their ancestors, addicted to indolence, and more studious of repose than of positive enjoyments, are concurring circumstances

that render possible in Egypt a system which in Europe or America would speedily work the extinction of the race or of the tyranny.

The exertions made for the religious improvement of the native Christians of Egypt have hitherto been inconsiderable. I was informed by Mr. Leider that the English Wesleyans at one time supported a mission in Alexandria, which met with but slight encouragement, and was finally withdrawn. The missionaries, who did not acquire the language, had to rely upon native teachers for their schools, with whom they could have intercourse only through an interpreter. Under these unfavourable circumstances, their influence upon the pupils was too slight and indirect to be greatly useful. A learned German, skilled in the Arabic, was subsequently employed by this society; but his principles and piety were doubtful in the estimation of others, and probably of the Wesleyan committee, who gave up the enterprise at the end of some years.

Some efforts were made by the agents of the American Board of Foreign Missions towards evangelizing Egypt, but I am not precisely informed to what extent. Parsons, and, I believe, Fisk, were in Egypt; and I was informed by the Rev. Dr. King, the veteran missionary now in Athens, that he, in conjunction, I think, with Parsons, distributed tracts and Bibles in the towns and villages on the banks of the Nile. No permanent establishment, however, was formed, if such an attempt was ever contemplated by the American Board; and that superintended by the Rev. Messrs. Leider and Kruze is the only mission now in Egypt. It is located in Cairo, and has been in existence eleven years. It was instituted for the benefit of the Copts, and has not, that I have learned, extended its labours beyond that class of native Christians. There are three schools attached to this mission. The one of the highest degree is under the immediate direction of the Rev. Mr. Kruze, and is designed

for the education of teachers. It has about twenty-five scholars, chiefly native Christians, who are instructed in a tolerably liberal course of studies, embracing science and language. Some difficulty has been found in carrying out the original objects of this school. The society has declined adding to the number of its schools, and private schools offered a compensation too inconsiderable to induce the young men prepared by the missionaries to engage in their establishment. Instead, therefore, of answering the design of their education, they are chiefly employed in the various departments of the pacha's service, to which they may be recommended by their education. One or two have been engaged as translators for the mission. With these exceptions, the elevés of these schools seem to be lost in the mass of Copts, relapsing speedily into their former religious views and usages.

Mr. Leider has a school for boys, to whom the elements of a common education are imparted. It has seventy pupils, and a girls' school, under the auspices of the mission, has about an equal number of scholars. No attempt is made to withdraw the pupils from the Coptic church, though scriptural instruction is faithfully imparted to them. Any effort of this kind would excite violent prejudices, which even now create many hinderances in the way of these benevolent institutions. The Coptic clergy show little favour to the missionaries and their work. With all their moderation and prudence, I heard them charged with secret designs of proselyting: "For what else," said an intelligent Levantine to me, "can a missionary school be kept up?" This, I was assured, is the light in which this pious enterprise is regarded universally by the people for whose benefit it is conducted. Most of the parents who send children to the school, avow their intention to withdraw them before they are old enough to have their religious principles perverted—a purpose which they rigorously carry into effect.

Upon the whole, this mission seems to meet with no very flattering encouragement. It is a work of faith to which these heralds of the cross are called, difficult and discouraging beyond most other departments of Christian labour. No person has been converted, none have been brought to a decided and open rejection of the absurd opinions and usages which the ignorance of ages has ingrafted on this branch of the Church. Those pupils who have yielded for a time to the lessons of an enlightened piety, soon decline, upon leaving the schools, into the prevailing sentiments and observances. Still we may always hope for ultimate good when the Scriptures are circulated, and their doctrines plainly and piously inculcated.

The Rev. Mr. Grimshaw, a venerable and pious clergyman of the Church of England, well known as the author of a biography of the poet Cowper, and the editor of his works, spent some time in Cairo during my visit to Egypt, and had several conferences with the Coptic patriarch, and other superior clergy, on the subject of the mission so long and so fruitlessly sustained for the benefit of these benighted people. I was subsequently informed by Mr. G., at Jerusalem, that the patriarch declined giving any direct pledges upon the subject, but seemed favourably inclined to some arrangements by which the education of his clergy might be improved without danger to their ecclesiastical attachments. The missionaries of the English society are careful to disavow any wish to interfere with these. They recognise the Coptic Church as apostolic in its organization and authority, and as essentially evangelical in its creed. Mr. G. had strong hopes that ultimate good might result from these negotiations.

With his characteristic fidelity to every good cause, Mr. Grimshaw had an interview with the pacha on the subject of establishing a colony of Jews in Palestine. The viceroy expressed himself in terms decidedly favourable to such

an enterprise, and fully promised his countenance and protection. He said, however, that he was unable to make a grant of land to such a colony, as the soil of Palestine belonged to private proprietors, and his government was wont to treat individual rights with sacred respect! Mohammed Ali has since been deprived of his authority in Syria, yet the enterprise in question, if seriously pursued, may perhaps find equal favour with the sultan, who owes so much to the aid of his Christian allies.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Preparations for a Voyage up the Nile.—Scarcity of Boats.—Delays.—Description of a Nile Boat.—Villany.—Appeal to the Police.—Embargo.—Rumour of War.—Annoyances.—Embarcation at Old Cairo.—Change of Servants.—Outfit.—Prospects.—Fine Weather.—Pyramids of Aboukir.—Sakkara and Dashour.—A wild Goose.—Our Rais and Crew.—Head Winds.—Walk on the Shore.—Climate.—A Night Scene.—Professional Dancers.—The false Pyramid.—Rain.—Wild Fowl.—Sporting.—Unpleasant Incident.—Beni Souef.—Bucksheesh.—Formalities in Dining.—Egyptian Indolence.—Luxuriant Vegetation.—Arab Navigation.—Primitive mode of Irrigation.—Jebbel Tayr.—Coptic Monastery.—Feats in the Water.—Begging.—Fields of Mustard.—Onions.—Petty Thefts.—Minyeh.—Arab Villages.—Mounds of Rubbish.—Palm-trees.—Upward Navigation.—Ingratitude.—Sugar Manufactories.—Mountains.—Offering at the Tomb of a Saint.—Difficulties with the Rais.—Acacia-trees.—Siout.—Fertile Plain.—A vigilant Sentinel.—Mild Winter.—Vandalism of the Pacha.—Village.—Mosque.—School.—Mussulman Charity.—A Crocodile.—Gigeh.—Beautiful Mountains.—Trouble.—Nubian Sailors.

From the first of January, the day of our arrival in Cairo we were detained until the 15th, waiting for a boat to carry us to Upper Egypt. The interval was employed in visiting such objects of interest as are in the neighbourhood, and in

obtaining, so far as time and circumstances allowed, an intimate acquaintance with this great capital. There was an unusual scarcity of boats, occasioned partly by the increased demand, the security and facility of travelling in Egypt adding yearly to the crowd of visiters; partly to the temporary employment of a considerable number of boats by the government; and, finally, to the absence of the best vessels in the service of the Persian ambassador, who, with a numerous suite, had proceeded up the Nile on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The negotiations and vexations, the delays and disappointments which were connected with this preliminary arrangement, would form a long chapter of disagreeables, dull enough to those not interested, but not uninstructive, as showing the great variety of forms which the trial of our patience may assume, and developing the matchless impudence and versatility of the Egyptians in falsehood and fraud.

Mr. C. took the trouble of managing this business; but, as I occasionally accompanied him, and had a common interest in his success, I shared in the annoyances connected with it. After riding to Boulak, the lower harbour of Cairo, twice or thrice a day for a week or more, we at length engaged a boat, which, though too small, we thought might answer our purpose. It was new, and measured on the deck about forty feet in length by ten wide. It was to be navigated by a rais or captain, and eight men, and duly provided with sails, oars, and setting-poles to suit the expected vicissitudes of winds and calms, rapid currents, and sand-banks. There was one good cabin on the hinder part of the deck to be occupied by Mr. and Mrs. C. Another was made for Mr. J. and me by forming a tent of sailcloth immediately in front of the first. For the boat and crew we were to pay 1400 piasters per month. To prevent all misunderstanding, a contract was duly executed in Arabic, and, contrary to common custom, which exacts only half of the

pay in advance, we delivered the whole amount into the hands of the owner of the boat, who bound himself to have all things in readiness for our departure by a given hour on Monday, the 13th of January. Should he fail in this engagement, he was to forfeit the pay of three days for every day's delay. He came to our lodgings early on Monday to announce that everything was in complete readiness. Upon going to Boulak towards evening, we found the boat filled with carpenters, painters, caulkers, &c., and without sail or rudder. The proprietor, who had represented himself as rais, was not present; but his brother, who, we found, was the true rais, impudently assured us that the boat was perfectly ready to receive us on board, and that he only waited for our orders to set sail. We left word for the owner to call on us in Cairo without delay. This he did soon after, and declared to us that his boat was in perfect order for service, urging us to lose no time in embarking. We told him that, having just seen the boat in its unfinished state, we knew his statement could not possibly be true. He repeated his asseverations, and finally swore by his mouth, his eyes, and his beard, that he had left the boat in complete readiness. On Tuesday morning, however, we found the sail unfinished upon the bank of the river. The carpenters were in another place, working upon the helm, and the caulkers were still on board filling up the seams. The rais, and all hands, again declared that they were waiting in a state of perfect preparation to receive us on board, and begged of us to send our baggage without farther delay. Upon going to the port again on Tuesday evening, we found appearances more favourable, but were surprised to learn from the proprietor that, instead of two sails, for which the boat was intended, and which he had expressly promised Mr. C., he had resolved to send us upon our voyage with only one. We remonstrated strongly against this shameful imposition, but he persisted in his purpose, affirming that he had prom-

ised but a single sail; that the boat was made for one only, and, finally, that he neither could nor would furnish another. Resolving to see if any remedy could be found in the prompt administration for which the pacha's government is so famous, Mr. C. applied to the captain of the port for redress. He professed the greatest readiness to do us justice. He said the man was a rogue, and that he would very gladly have him bastinadoed without more ceremony. The owner of the boat was sent for, and soon made his appearance before this off-hand Rhadamanthus. He made some bungling attempts to justify his conduct, but soon lowered his tone, and offered to do all in his power to meet our wishes. We found that he could not rig the boat with another sail in less than four or five days. The captain of the port assured us that we ran no risk in embarking with one, though two would be preferable. He offered to compel the man to refund the 1400 piasters if we could find another vessel, and declared that he thought it would be very right and useful to have him punished, that he might learn to be honest for the future. He repeated that it would give him pleasure to have a certain number of blows inflicted upon the culprit's feet. We concluded to decline this particular indulgence, and resolved to embark on Wednesday, January 15th, preferring the inconveniences of a long navigation to the unspeakable annoyances of negotiating for another boat. It was a fortunate determination, for an order arrived from the pacha, before our embarcation, forbidding any boat to leave Boulak without an express order from himself, as he wished the services of all in carrying a large quantity of wheat to Alexandria. This order was accompanied by a rumour that England was about to attempt to rescue the Turkish fleet by force of arms, the pacha having refused to restore it. We were to commence our voyage not free from apprehensions that our departure from Egypt, and our subsequent movements in Syria, might be embarrassed by war

men manifest great aversion to the pacha's service. They are very anxious to engage their boats to Franks, and seem perfectly content when under the temporary protection of a foreign flag. This is the only effectual security against the exactions of the government. Several unfinished boats, whose progress towards completion we had carefully observed with reference to engaging them for our voyage, were in effect abandoned by the workmen, one or two only remaining to preserve appearances, till the demands of government should be satisfied and opportunity afforded for engaging in some less odious employment. This universal aversion to the service of Mohammed Ali arises from the rigid discipline, and, as far as practicable in dealing with such a people, the strict accountability which he sternly exacts from his employés. Such an interference with their indolent and thievish habits is more unpalatable to the Arabs than the inadequate and tardy compensation of their labour, of which they have so much reason to complain. Many boats were sunk in the river, or rendered unfit for service, in order to escape from the government officers.

When our boat had finally been put in a state of partial fitness for the voyage, we ordered it to await our embarcation at Old Cairo, about three miles higher up the river than Boulak, and nearly as accessible to us. Our friends advised us to adopt this course in order to avoid the delay of at least one day in the former place, which the boatmen would not fail to make under pretence of completing their supplies, and of passing the multitude of boats moored in the river, of which they always contrive to make a very tedious business, should we embark at the lower port. The penalty for delay would cease to be effective after we should once go on board, an act amounting to an acknowledgment, on our part, that the boat was ready.

Our journey of three or four miles to Old Cairo was to exhibit other evidences of the degradation and knavery of

this wretched people. Two or three camels were ordered to the door of our lodgings to carry our baggage to the boat. About a dozen were immediately at our service, and, in spite of our remonstrances, so completely blocked up the narrow street from which our apartments were entered as to render ingress and egress nearly impossible, and the transportation of the baggage and its arrangement upon the backs of the camels perfectly so. The men immediately engaged in a fierce and loud quarrel about their respective claims to the job. Impatient to set out, we tried to induce them to give way, indicating the persons we had engaged, and declaring we would have no other. All would not do. They only pressed nearer to the door, and raised their voices in more angry and deafening tones. It was not until after a good deal of delay and many threats that the disappointed applicants retired a few yards, and, having caused their beasts to kneel down, waited, as I supposed, to see if we should not find an additional camel necessary. We soon had reason to suspect they had other objects in view. Leaving their camels, they mounted the stairs with the porters, and a resort to force became necessary to induce them to take their hands off from our baggage. Here, again, we pointed out the persons whom alone we would employ, and drove the rest out of the house. Mr. C. now took his station, with a bamboo in hand, to keep improper persons from seizing the baggage. Mr. June presided over its arrangement upon the camels, and I, as less effective for difficult service, was posted at the head of a passage near the door, which led, not to the place of deposite, but into some obscure and narrow lanes, that seemed to invite the bearers of heavy burdens to their cool and secluded retreats. After much vexation, and the consequent delay of nearly two hours, we at last took our departure a little before 10 o'clock A.M.

To add to our difficulties, we had found out that Selim and the other servant whom we had brought from Alexan-

dria were cheats and thieves, as well as sadly addicted to the smaller vices of incorrigible indolence and extreme filthiness. We were compelled to dismiss them a little before leaving Cairo. Selim had been strongly recommended to us by Mr. Waghorn, but we afterward learned that he had been lately discharged from jail, where he had been confined for stealing, and that he enjoyed the reputation of being an accomplished villain. Fortunately, Mr. June was to be of our party, and had no use at present for his faithful dragoman, John, whom we hired to accompany us. John is a Coptic Christian, nearly fifty years of age, has been in India and America, and spent twenty years in England, besides several in the household of the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular war. He speaks and writes English, is a good cook, and every way qualified for our purpose. He engaged an under-servant, who was to join us on the morning of our departure, but had not arrived when we set off. We were detained till two P.M. at Old Cairo, waiting for him. Like a true son of Ishmael, he did not fail to deceive us and violate his engagement. As a last resort, we took a youth of John's acquaintance, who had followed us to our boat, and might be of use in various ways.

At last our preparations were completed. Our supplies of eatables and drinkables, of bread, meat, chickens, sugar, coffee, tea, potatoes, charcoal, cooking and sleeping appliances, with the long list of et ceteras which the traveller in Egypt must provide himself with, were on board, and we set sail with a satisfaction proportioned in some degree to the disappointments and vexations which had made up the busy history of several tantalizing days. We were at length to be free from at least one class of annoyances, though, with an Egyptian crew, we could not hope for exemption from others. We were in our own floating habitation, cramped and crowded to be sure, as one must be in these rude ves-

sels, but we had the advantage of a clean, new boat—the largest we could obtain—the best security against the swarms of vermin of many species, which the report of all travellers in this region had prepared us to expect, and which our voyage of five days from Atfeh had given us sufficient reason to dread. Above all, we were in the way to realize the gratification which we had so long anticipated, and which had been a chief object of our visit to Egypt—the pleasure of seeing what remains of those magnificent monuments which record, in intelligible and imperishable characters, albeit in an unknown language, the resources and advanced civilization of a people who lived before the birth of History. The wind was light, but fair, and wafted us gently upon the bosom of the most interesting and historical river in the world. We sailed in full view of the Pyramids of Ghizeh, which were ten miles to our right, and we now gazed on them with increased admiration, since we had stood at their base, explored their interior chambers, and from their lofty summits had surveyed not only their own colossal dimensions, but the majestic Nile, and the glorious valley which it has created and fertilized: objects not less celebrated and wonderful in the natural world than are the Pyramids themselves among the works of man.

Though the middle of January, the weather was uncomfortably warm. It resembled a June day in the United States, and we found the awning that covers our deck of good service to shelter us from the rays of the sun.

January 16, 1840. We sailed the whole of this day in sight of the Pyramids, which are scattered along the edge of the Desert, at the distance of six or eight miles from the Nile, from Ghizeh far to the south. They take various names, Ghizeh, Abousir, Sakkara, Dashour, and seem to be a part of the great cemetery of Memphis, which begins at Ghizeh. Two of these pyramids are nearly as large as

that of Cheops. One of them, El Kadab, or the false Pyramid, deviates from the pyramidal form in its structure, rising fifty or sixty feet with the usual slope, and then suddenly contracting and coming to a point at an elevation much less, apparently 100 feet, than seems to have been contemplated in the original plan. This gives to it a peculiar and ungraceful appearance. One of the Pyramids, of smaller dimensions, is constructed of brick, not burned, but dried in the sun. They are made of the common earth of the vale of the Nile, mixed with straw, which is cut fine, and employed to give cohesion to the mud. Many of the houses and walls in Egypt at the present day are constructed of this kind of material. The Israelites were engaged in making this sort of bricks, possibly those of which this Pyramid is built, when their cruel taskmasters exacted the full tale of labour, with the additional toil of seeking stubble for their work in the fields. The bricks of this ancient pile have a fresh appearance, and are in good preservation. A structure of such materials would, in almost any other climate, long since have been dissolved by the action of the elements, and restored to the soil from which, by a process so rude and imperfect, it had been separated. Here, where frost is wholly unknown, and where it never rains beyond the degree of a copious dew, three thousand years have but slightly affected the form and finish of these edifices, and not at all impaired the integrity of the materials. Three thousand years more will probably effect less change upon them than they would suffer from the penetrating cold and inundating rains of a single year in America.

Our progress this day was so slow as to give us much time to gaze upon the objects around us, and, fortunately, they were so numerous and interesting as to beguile hours that would otherwise have been much more tedious. The wind was unfavourable, and our crew too inefficient and too much averse to exertion to stem with much success the

force of the current. I think our progress was less than two miles an hour. Nearly two hours were lost in an unsuccessful attempt to overtake a wild goose which Mr. J. had brought down with his fowling-piece. The vivacious animal, being disabled by the wound from making her escape through the air, took refuge in her other natural element, and proved, both in speed and skill, an overmatch for our navigators. My sporting companions at length gave up the chase, without having acquired from its fortunes more composure of mind than they had occasion to employ in making our way against the stream. Our rais was little disposed to make up for delays by additional exertion and perseverance. Though the wind became more favourable towards sunset, he ran the boat ashore near a village, and made arrangements for spending the night in company with the crews of several other boats which were before us in closing the labours of the day. We had been in motion barely eight hours, the pursuit of the wounded goose included. This first day's work was likely to have no little influence on our future progress, and would probably be appealed to as the proper measure of those which were to succeed it. Duly impressed with the importance of establishing first principles on a proper basis, we resolved, after consultation, that it was advisable to prosecute our voyage for at least an hour longer. We made our wishes known to the rais, who declared that it was out of the question to go on, the wind and universal usage being against it; and, besides, his contract with us was satisfied by continuing the voyage till sunset. The whole crew, already in animated conversation with the crowd whom the fortunes of travel had made their companions for the night, concurred with the rais in assuring us, with much excitement and vociferation, that it was impracticable to proceed farther before to-morrow. The time had come for acknowledging the authority of our rais and his Arabs over all our future movements on the

Nile, or of resolutely asserting our own. He was told, in a decided tone, that he must proceed without delay; that the boat and the services of the men were ours during our voyage; and that it belonged to us, and not to them, to direct. They all joined in loud and angry remonstrances against the doctrines set forth in this harangue. They were not our servants, and, in short, would not move. Affairs were now at a crisis. Threats were sternly uttered, and some show made of using force. This had the desired effect, and we were soon in motion. Unfortunately, the wind had died away during this negotiation, so that we were unable to make much progress. We had, however, gained an important point, which did not, indeed, enable us to sail without wind, but which was likely to be useful in the farther prosecution of a voyage whose success is hardly less dependant on the concurrence of an indolent crew than upon the favour of the elements.

Mr. June, who has been nearly a year in Egypt, and acquired considerable knowledge of the language, as well as of the habits and dispositions of the Arabs, obligingly and very efficiently assists Mr. C. in managing the people. I am happy in being thus relieved from a task which every hour shows is to be a very difficult and irksome one.

January 17. We set off this morning a little after sunrise, having a strong head wind, and at the close of the day had scarcely made more than fifteen or twenty miles. The river makes a long detour, nearly describing a semicircle. The Valley of the Nile here becomes broader, and the mountain which secures it on the west from the encroachments of the Desert suddenly recedes from the banks of the river. I observed a considerable change in the soil, which contains a larger proportion of sand than I had seen before. I walked for several hours on the shore, while our crew were towing the boat against the wind and current with a rope. The banks of the river are high, and seem

not to be overflowed by the annual inundations, though the effect of that benignant provision of nature is apparent at a short distance inland in the luxuriance of the vegetation. The high bank is, to a considerable extent, uncultivated. In some places it is irrigated, when it equals the adjacent fields in fertility.

To give a practical instance of the mildness of the climate, I unexpectedly came, in my walk, to a canal which crossed my way in approaching the Nile. There was no bridge, and I had not brought from the boat the means of paying my fare by the public ferry-boat, which I saw at a little distance. Not being disposed to terminate my walk so soon, I pulled off my boots and forded this stream, which may be twenty or thirty yards wide. The temperature both of the water and the atmosphere was that of an American summer. I experienced no inconvenience from this little adventure, though long unaccustomed to use such freedom with the elements.

We stopped for the night on the western bank of the river, opposite to a large village at the distance of about half a mile from the bank. The delicious softness of the atmosphere, and the brilliant moonlight, tempted us to walk in the grove of palm-trees that lies between the village and the landing-place. Our attention was soon attracted by the sound of music and loud peals of merriment. We directed our walk towards the village, and approached a large group of people just outside of the gate. There were, perhaps, two hundred persons, consisting of men, women, and children, most of whom were squatted upon the ground after the peculiar manner of the country. A few of the men were standing, and all were deeply engaged in looking upon a dance performed by two young females in the midst of the crowd, where an area was kept vacant for the purpose. Our arrival, without interrupting the performance, withdrew all eyes from the dancers. The women and children, espe-

cially, crowded around us with eager curiosity, and we had some difficulty in keeping them from approaching nearer than our inclination or safety permitted. We manifested our aversion to having much intimacy with these new acquaintances by changing our position two or three times, and, without seeming offended with our shyness, they at length kept at a more respectful distance. A man, who seemed to be a person of some consequence, compelled the people to rise and enlarge the circle, so as to allow the dancing girls to approach nearer, and afford us a favourable opportunity to observe the singular performance.

The dress of the dancers was loose and flowing, of very light materials, open at the bosom, and so adjusted as to exhibit the form and person as fully as possible. Their headdress, which was ornamented with shining trinkets, and not unbecoming, hung down behind to the waist. They wore a broad girdle, which was wound many times around the body, and covered it from the bosom to the hips. The ankles and arms were adorned with bracelets, with which they kept time to the thrilling music made by two rude instruments, the one a sort of earthen drum, in form not unlike a funnel, having a head of goat-skin; the other a wind instrument, two or three feet long, composed of two reeds of unequal length—one perforated with holes for the fingers—and bound together, so as to enable the performer to blow in both at the same time. The dance was unlike anything seen in other countries. It begins with slow and measured steps, accompanied by the sound of some brass trinkets or cymbals, which the performers hold in their hands, and shake briskly above and around their heads, at the same time throwing their bodies forward and backward, and to the right and left, with great violence. This seems but the introduction to the dance, in which the feet and legs remain immovable; the hands are raised on high or fall, in unison with the voluptuous sentiments designed to be ex-

pressed and excited. The chief part of the performance consists in a succession of attitudes, contortions, and gestures performed by the muscles of the thighs, abdomen, and loins.

The performers possess a perfect command over every fibre of the body, and those parts of the human frame which are naturally quite incapable of voluntary motion, have acquired a pliability and power that seem hardly less than supernatural. They were highly excited, I might say almost frantic, under the influence of the music and of their own exhausting efforts. The spectators partook of the same intoxicating influence. They encouraged the dancers with occasional cheering, and swelled the hoarse music to a deafening note by now and then pouring upon its thrilling, rapid tide a brief, loud chorus.

The dancers occasionally stopped to get breath, but, by repeating their evolutions, speedily rose again to the state of phrensied excitement which, for the moment, seemed to have subsided. It was a wild and very striking scene. I was not sorry to have stumbled upon it, though it left a painful impression upon my feelings. The motions and attitudes of the dancers were indecent and offensive in a high degree, and we were fain to turn our backs upon an exhibition which, from its singularity and novelty, we had witnessed with a lively interest.

January 18. We sailed to-day, as well as yesterday, in sight of what is called the false Pyramid. It is the last of those wonderful erections in this direction. Our nearest approach to it was about seven miles. The river makes a circuit in this part of its course, which detained us for nearly two days at about the same apparent distance from this conspicuous object. The false Pyramid is not, like the rest, built on a foundation of native rock. It stands isolated and solitary on a high mound of sand. It is also peculiar in its structure. Its sides do not form regular, even surfaces, but

rise in several successive grades or steps, each twenty or thirty feet in height. This peculiarity, as well as the hill of sand which forms its pedestal, is very observable from the river. We did not approach nearer.

We witnessed to-day the rare phenomenon of a slight rain. The sky was covered with dark and rather angry clouds, from which, in other countries, we might have expected, if not an inundating torrent, at least a copious shower. Such, however, are wholly unknown in this region. A slight sprinkle, which lasted only two or three minutes, was all that followed these threatening appearances. By some natural law, which seems not to be very well explained, the burdened clouds are unable to discharge their contents upon the earth along this valley of anomalies and mysteries.

The river and its banks are covered with a profusion of wild-fowl; and my fellow-travellers, who, in anticipation of these tempting opportunities, provided themselves with fowling-pieces and a plentiful supply of ammunition, have had much amusement in shooting at them. Two discharges into a flock of pigeons brought down sixteen. They are large and fat, and, though not very tender, afford an agreeable variety, and were especially acceptable at this time, when we had been living mostly on lean, tough chickens for two months.

Mr. J., in one of his walks upon the shore to-day, had an unpleasant adventure. He met four fellahs, armed, as they usually are, with heavy sticks about six feet long. One of them asked him for some powder. Having repeated this application two or three times without success, he seized Mr. J. by the left hand, which held his gun on the shoulder, and renewed his demand for powder in a threatening and positive tone. Mr. J. ordered him to let go his grasp, which he refused to do till his demand should be complied with. To put an end to this rather uncourteous and pressing importunity, Mr. J. gave him a blow with the fist that happened to be free, which felled him to the earth. His companions

offered no assistance, but merely said, "He will be cautious how he asks a Frank for powder again." This is the first instance I have known in which a fellah has had the courage to carry out, at some personal risk, the dishonesty which seems inherent in the race.

January 19. We moored last night off Beni Souef. This is a considerable—comparatively a large town. I had no means of forming any tolerable estimate of the number of its inhabitants, which must amount to from 5000 to 10,000. It is the market-town of an exuberantly fertile region. Many boats were moored opposite the town, employed in transporting agricultural products. The bazar, narrow, dark, and encumbered with filth, is poorly supplied with merchandise, though crowded with a multitude of yawning, ragged idlers, in the form of tradesmen, customers, and vagabonds. The houses present the same uniform aspect of dilapidation, if this term may be applied to buildings exclusively constructed of sun-dried clay, and squalid poverty which everywhere meets the eye and deforms the face of this lovely country.

Beni Souef occupies the site of the ancient Ptolemaidon, and derives considerable commercial importance from its proximity to the Canal of Joseph, which secures to it the trade of the fertile province of Fayoum. It has also some manufactures of wool, besides one of the pacha's large establishments for fabricating cotton cloths. Here, in compliance with an established usage, which we were not permitted to forget, we treated our crew to a dinner of meat. Gratuities of all sorts, in food, money, or any other form, are denominated bucksheesh. This is the first word in the language which a traveller is likely to learn, and the least tenacious memory is in no danger of forgetting it. It is repeated by everybody and on all occasions. If the traveller turns his eye ever so carelessly towards a boat or a buffalo, a pile of wheat or a sack of dates, he is asked for bucksheesh by the persons who have the charge of these

objects. If you look into a cabin or the gate of a village, you are expected to pay bucksheesh. Every person who does you any service, in addition to the stipulated or usual pay expects bucksheesh. If we speak kindly to the rais or the sailors, or even look upon them with an unclouded brow, they demand this species of tribute. If the wind turns favourable, or we have succeeded in driving them to their work a little earlier than usual, or in keeping under sail till the sun is fairly out of sight, it is sure to be hailed as an auspicious occasion when we may testify our approbation by a gratuity. Our sailors, as often as we will listen to them, amuse us with stories about the howagas, or Frank gentlemen whom they have formerly carried upon the Nile. In all of their narratives they have no other standard of excellence than the amount of bucksheesh bestowed upon them. The man who has given bucksheesh liberally, no matter if he has flogged them every day, is always *taib*. All others are evil in their sight.

It was amusing enough to observe the formalities which attended the preparation and consumption of our present to the crew. The men formed a ring around the furnace, and hardly withdrew their eager eyes from the huge earthen pot that contained the anticipated feast during the process of boiling. The division of it was an operation that evidently gave exercise to all their science and skill. They were assembled and seated with much gravity, and the precious viand divided, by two persons selected for this grave function, into nine parts, which were arranged in a long row upon a plank. Every one then expressed his opinion upon the distribution, and proposed such additions and changes as seemed equitable. The debate was occasionally earnest and angry, and some time elapsed before all preliminaries were satisfactorily adjusted. As to the rest, the affair was speedily despatched, and the provision disappeared in a period of time incredibly short.

We passed the river or canal of Yousef, which flows out of the Nile on the western side, and connects it with the ancient Lake Mœris. The wind was ahead throughout the day, and we advanced very slowly by towing. Our rais turned the boat to the land long before night, and was only induced to proceed farther by a threat of resorting to force. He proves to be an incompetent, stupid, and desperately lazy man.

January 20. We stopped for the night at a village which is pronounced by the men El Fogoi, and got under way this morning a little after daybreak, which is about 6 A.M. It falls to my lot, as my feelings compel me to decline those acts of administration which are likely to provoke much resistance, to rouse the rais and his men from their sleep, and get them off at an early hour. He manifests no resentment at this interference with his comfort and dignity, but the most extreme reluctance to open his eyes, and make sufficient exertion to get the boat in motion. The crew are a little less indolent, but, with such an example before them, are much more disposed to sleep than to work.

The day afforded no incidents of particular interest, but my attention and admiration were constantly excited by the exuberant fertility of this wonderful valley. The wheat in many fields is full three feet high. The size of the straw and the breadth of the leaf quite surpass anything that has fallen under my observation elsewhere. I may say the same of the rich, dark green which invites the eye to range over the luxuriant vegetation of these lovely plains.

January 21. The wind rose, both yesterday and to-day, a little before 11 o'clock A.M., and, though of no great strength, enabled us to sail with greater speed than we were able to make by towing. It had, besides, the advantage of relieving the crew from this irksome toil, and us from the disagreeable necessity of watching and urging them on. They will do nothing without this constant su-

pervision. If our attention happened to be diverted for a little while by reading or conversation, it was soon to be recalled by the collision of the boat with the shore or a sandbank. We often found ourselves descending with the current, or wheeling round and in danger of capsizing through the mismanagement of the sail. These are accidents which the rais used no precautions to prevent and no effort to retrieve. He was usually seated upon the deck, half asleep, and when the boat struck the shoals or the shore, barely gave evidence of being alive by a lazy and reluctant grunt The crew, sometimes of their own accord, but more frequently by Mr. J.'s orders, proceeded tardily to the oars or the setting poles, while the drone to whom we had intrusted our lives seldom took the trouble to issue an order, or even rise upon his feet.

After getting the men in motion at 6 A.M., I usually went ashore and walked an hour or two before breakfast. This was a great relief from the irksome confinement of the boat, and afforded good opportunity for viewing the country, and the various agricultural processes employed in the cultivation of this incomparably fertile region. We no longer saw the wheel, worked by oxen and buffaloes, employed in raising water for irrigating the crops. I have been informed that they were formerly numerous here as well as in the Delta; but an annual tax of about fifteen dollars was imposed upon them by the pacha, which has led to their general disuse. The water is now raised by human labour; the only machinery employed is a rude windlass or sweep, and leathern or earthen bucket, the same in principle which is often used in the new settlements in the United States for drawing water from wells. The whole is of the most primitive and cheap construction; the two posts on which the axle plays are sometimes made of palm-trees, but more frequently of a bundle of long reeds combined into a sort of pillar, by being plastered with mud

taken from the river. The pole is a branch of the palm-tree about ten feet long; the sweep, as the stick is technically called to which the pole is attached, is small, of about the same length, and loaded at the end with a heavy mass of mud mixed with straw, and dried like the bricks of the country. Three or four of these machines are planted, one above another, on the declivity of the bank, which varies in height from fifteen to thirty feet; the first raises the water six or seven feet into a basin excavated in the bank; thence it is raised by the second, and so on till it arrives at the summit, where it is distributed over the fields by shallow trenches, sometimes made in the surface of the earth, but more frequently on mounds a little raised. A man is stationed at each bucket, and they work them with much vivacity and effect. I saw six athletic men so employed this morning; they were naked, with the exception of a narrow strip of cloth, or rather a rag, about the loins. The sight was truly barbarian. They get for this labour, which is very severe, one piaster per day.

About 4 P.M. we came to Jebbel Tayr, the Mountain of Birds, which is a part of the great range that separates the valley of the Nile from the Desert on the east. Here it comes to the river, from which it rises abruptly to the height of 150 or 200 feet. As we approached it, in our boat, it appeared to be perpendicular, with an even, uniform surface; but, on a nearer view, many shelves and small cavities are seen, which give shelter to immense numbers of water-fowl. These haunts were occupied this day by myriads of wild ducks, which darkened the broad, towering front of this singular mountain. They flew on our approach, but Mr. J. brought down one with his double-barrelled gun.

On the summit of this mountain is a village of Coptic Christians and a convent, which seem to derive no small part of their support from begging. We were still nearly a mile distant, when a man appeared on the cliffs that

overhang the river, crying out to us with all his strength of lungs. He addressed us in a mixture of Italian and Arabic, "Christiano Howaga," which, it seems, is their standing salutation, as our crew repeated it frequently before this aërial beggar made his appearance. He seemed, from his dress, to belong to the fraternity, and, as we drew nearer, offered loud prayer for the safety of our voyage. A man perfectly naked soon after approached, descending the precipitous rocks, which appeared inaccessible to all but the winged race who make it their habitation. He bounded along with frightful velocity from the summit to the base of the mountain, and, plunging into the river, here about three fourths of a mile wide, swam towards us with incredible speed, crying aloud, as he cleft the turbid waves, "Christiano Howaga." We were ascending the stream with a fair wind, and the strong current swept him far below us. Soon, however, he reached the opposite shore, and running swiftly along the sandy beach for perhaps a mile, plunged again into the river at a point considerably above us, and being now aided by the current, soon succeeded in reaching our boat, reiterating his learned salutation, "Christiano Howaga." I seldom give to beggars who, like the present applicant, forfeit their claim to charity by a professional devotion of their lives to the work of disgracing the Gospel as well as human nature. My companions, who are zealous sportsmen, were not more disposed to bestow their alms upon the marplot who, in making his noisy descent from the mountain, had scared away the ducks, and spoiled one of the best opportunities in the world to make a great shot. Our Arabs interceded for the mendicant, and thought him entitled to some consideration after so rare a performance in the water.

We stopped for the night at 7 P.M., and were much annoyed by the cry of hyenas, which had taken refuge in the long grass and reeds that abound in this locality.

January 22. In my walk this morning on the shore, I passed through a large field of mustard, not less in extent, I should think, than 20 or 30 acres. It was in full bloom, and very luxuriant. Much of it was ten feet in height. This plant is extensively cultivated in this part of the country. It seems, next to wheat, to receive the largest share of attention. A considerable extent of land is also tilled in onions. They are sown broadcast, and require no more labour than other field-crops. Eight or ten acres together are often covered with this vegetable, which is much used as an article of food. Our crew keep themselves supplied with onions without any other expense than the trouble of stealing them. It is the custom of the boatmen, so far as I can discover, to live at free charges on the peasantry along the river. They take onions, garlic, clover, &c., wherever they find them, and buy nothing but bread. They also steal all their fuel, which consists mostly of corn and doura stalks. The fellahs collect them in heaps on the shore for their own use or to send to the market, and the boatmen land as night approaches, and take as many as they have occasion to use for light, warming, and cooking. They make a considerable saving by this piece of economy, as charcoal, which we use for cooking, is excessively dear in Egypt. It costs between two and three dollars the hundred weight.

We arrived at Minyeh about noon. This is an important town on the west side of the river, with five mosques, and, as I should conjecture from its extent, having no other data, from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants. The houses and walls are of sun-dried bricks; and in this, as well as most other respects, the towns and villages of this country are so much alike, that it is difficult to describe them with any distinctness. With the exception of two or three items of statistics, a species of information which it is impossible to obtain with any approximation to certainty, what is said of one of these places may be said of all. They are all made up

of wretched huts, and narrow, filthy lanes, crowded with a ragged and indolent population, with all the imaginable accompaniments with which squalid poverty and degraded barbarism can deface and pollute a lovely region. Every town and village is encompassed with a mountain of rubbish, in most cases the accumulation of ages. The natural fertility of the soil renders manuring unnecessary, or at least unusual. The offal of the kitchen and the filth of the streets, which contribute, in other countries, to the beauty and fertility of the surrounding region, are here deposited in immense heaps just without the walls. The indolence of the people prevents their carrying them farther than absolute necessity demands. They accumulate from age to age, till at present every village and city is surrounded and overlooked by a mountain of rubbish and filth much higher than its walls or houses, allowing, ordinarily, nothing to be seen by the approaching traveller but the minarets of the mosques. Under the burning sun of Egypt, these mounds are never clothed with vegetation. They present a bare and desolate appearance, with nearly the colour of ashes, and every wind that blows upon them sweeps clouds of dust into the town and over the neighbouring fields.

There is another feature of the villages and towns upon the Nile no less common, but much more agreeable, as it goes far towards concealing the deformity just mentioned. The first indication of the existence of a village which meets the eye of the coming voyager is a luxuriant grove of palm-trees, which quite masks it, with all of its loathsome scenes, until he reaches the very gate. This is decidedly the most beautiful feature of Egyptian landscape. These delicious groves occur at short intervals all along the banks of the river, and the traveller has several of them always in his view, except when the interposition of a mountain or the unusual height of the banks of the Nile limits the field of vision to its channel.

We passed the mountain of Beni Hassan, which contains many ancient tombs, regarded among the most curious monuments of the ancient Egyptians. We had no time to examine them at present, reserving that pleasure for our return voyage. We are making great exertions to ascend the river, which can only be done, with any tolerable facility, by the aid of favourable winds. The strong current aids the returning voyager. Even during the prevalence of adverse winds, good progress is made down the river at night, when they always blow more gently, and the day may be advantageously devoted to examining various objects on shore interesting to the traveller.

We made another donation of provisions to our crew today, which was followed, as before, by increased indolence and inattention to duty. The rais remained in a kind of stupor, and only showed his usual slight symptoms of continued animation by taking the first opportunity to disoblige us. He ordered the boat ashore for the night while it was still advancing with a fair wind, and it was with the utmost difficulty he was compelled to proceed till the proper time for stopping. The wind, which had declined after sunset, sprung up again in the night, and we roused our people, and ordered them to hoist the sail. They denied that there was any wind, and pointed to the American flag, under whose protection we sailed. We were surprised to see it hang motionless, and concluded we had mistaken the state of the elements, when our servant hinted to us the propriety of examining the flag more closely, as the palm-trees gave signs of wind. We found it furled and tied to the rigging, so as to prevent it from floating. On making this discovery, we again drove our false barbarians to their task, a hardship for which they indemnified themselves by stealing the joint of mutton which we had reserved for our own use. This was the first instance of theft in which we had detected them.

January 23. We passed two large establishments for the manufacture of sugar. They are worked by steam, judging from the lofty chimneys, and belong to Mohammed Ali. Many fields on the banks of the Nile, above and below them, are cultivated in sugar-cane, which flourishes well. These factories are superintended by Europeans, and supply a large part of the sugar consumed in the country. I was told in Alexandria, that this business, like the manufacturing of cotton, is carried on at a loss of about forty per cent. The pacha wishes to make Egypt independent of other countries for its supply of articles of prime necessity, and submits to this loss for the sake of maintaining a system which he deems beneficial to the country.

We sailed to-day close to the unique and beautiful range of mountains which bounds the valley of the Nile on the eastern or Arabian side. They have been continually in sight, seldom more than five or six miles distant—often the river flows along their base—ever since we embarked at Cairo. The whole range consists of limestone rock. The sides and summit are perfectly bare. They do not afford sustenance to a shrub, or so much as a blade of grass. The stone is naturally very white, but, under the influence of time and the elements, it has taken a rich autumnal hue. It constantly reminded me of the Temple of Theseus and the Parthenon at Athens, by its strong resemblance to the exquisite moonbeam colouring which the beautiful marble of those venerable structures has received from the hand of time. The general name of this mountain is Mokattam, but its various parts are distinguished by different appellations. The tomb of a Mohammedan saint, Sheik Said, which we passed this day on the bank of the river, gives his name to the pile of perpendicular rocks that rises immediately in its rear. The Mohammedans are accustomed to make some pious offering in passing this tomb, which is also a shrine. Our crew threw some bread into the river,

which, they assured us, would be found under the window of the holy man the ensuing morning, and secure his intercessions for fair wind and a prosperous voyage.

Towards night we passed Manfaloot, a considerable town, imbowered in palm-trees, on the west or Libyan side of the river. The day closed, as usual, with a decline of the wind, which had been favourable since the morning.

January 24. The wind revived soon after dark, and continued favourable through the last night, but, by the indolence and obstinacy of the rais and crew, it profited us but little. We were able, with much difficulty, to keep them at work by constant watching; but as soon as we retired to bed they would run under the high bank of the river, which afforded a sheltered mooring, and when we remonstrated against their misconduct, declare that the wind had fallen. Universal custom, as well as their agreement with us, required them to proceed the whole night, when there is sufficient wind to stem the current. They are not expected to work the boat with oars and setting poles after dark. We were kept awake the greater part of the night by our attempts to keep the men at their work. This morning we called the rais, formally, to our tent, and compelling him to listen in silence, Mr. J., who speaks the language, recapitulated our causes of complaint, and announced our determination to seek redress from the governor of the next town, should he persist in this course of misconduct. The culprit made little reply except uttering two or three deep, plaintive grunts. He then seated himself again in his usual place before the mast, and was apparently sinking into the state of oblivious stupor to which he seems always to be tending. He was, however, agitated with stirring thoughts, and, after the lapse of half an hour, rose from his place, and began to order the crew about with great energy. He urged them to greater activity with goad-

ing words and many threats, calling them dogs, thieves, and whatever else is peculiarly offensive to Mohammedans.

The acacia-tree begins to appear in considerable abundance about Manfaloot. It is planted in thick groves, and has a broad, spreading top. It attains to no great height, not more than 20 feet, but is very useful, not only for its gum and shade, but for other purposes. The bark and fruit, if the pod, or a kind of bean which it bears, should be so called, are used for tanning. The wood is employed in architecture and for agricultural implements, but chiefly for constructing boats. It is also burned into charcoal.

At 5 P.M. we were opposite to Siout, the capital of Upper Egypt, and a very important commercial city of 20,000 inhabitants. The wind was fair, and we did not stop, reserving a visit to the town till our return. It is two or three miles from the river, and as the distance and a luxuriant forest of palm-trees concealed the deformities which no doubt belong to Siout, in common with other Egyptian towns, it presented a very agreeable aspect. A considerable number of tall white minarets are seen rising above the graceful palm-trees, and forming with their deep green foliage a beautiful combination. The mountains that bound the vale of Egypt on the east and west recede from the river just below Siout, and form a vast plain, apparently not less than 20 miles in breadth by a still greater length, and possessing, in a high degree, that exuberant fertility which belongs to the lands inundated by the Nile. It is reputed one of the most productive parts of Egypt, and it is the most extensive tract of arable land I had seen above Cairo. It was now covered, as far as the eye could reach, with luxuriant fields of wheat, mustard, &c.

January 25. We stopped for the night, as usual, near a village. The wind being fair, though light, and the rais a little under the influence of the stern lecture delivered to him in the morning, we continued our course till after 10

P.M. The village was silent in sleep long before our arrival, but the news that a Frank boat was at the landing seemed to have been circulated at an early hour this morning, and a soldier presented himself to demand bucksheesh for having held a sleepless vigil for our safety during the night. We, of course, ridiculed his pretensions, and set off a little after daybreak.

The Nile flows through this delightful region with a broad and ample stream. It varies in width from half to three quarters of a mile, and, unlike other rivers, it increases in size towards its sources. The sky is constantly cloudless and bright, and the temperature so mild that it is difficult to realize we are in the midst of winter. The music of countless myriads of birds, which sometimes literally darken the sky and perpetually cover the shores, and the luxuriant crops, hastening to maturity, which deck the fields in robes of green, involve the ear and eye in the same delusion, and assure us that whoever may shiver amid frosts and piercing winds, we are surrounded with all the lovely accompaniments and benign influences of summer.

We passed immense heaps of lime upon the banks of the river, brought from the mountains to be transported in boats to the towns below. It belongs to the pacha, who employs a great number of men in quarrying in this neighbourhood. They have destroyed many of the ancient tombs, and the work of destruction is still going on. This is certainly matter of regret, but it is hardly to be expected that this able but illiterate potentate should have much sympathy with works of art and taste, however venerable by their antiquity. A keg of powder, exploded in one of these vast sepulchres, does the work of many thousands of hands, and precipitates masses of stone to the base of the mountain, sufficient to load the largest fleet. The people of Egypt are too barbarous and ignorant to appreciate the injury done their country by this wholesale destruction of its an-

cient monuments, and remonstrance or reproach would come with an ill grace from foreigners. It is little that a semi-barbarous tyrant should use his discretion in converting empty tombs into material for the erection of barracks and cotton-mills, after the scholars of all the civilized nations of the world have rifled them of their precious deposites.

We stopped to-day, for supplies, at a large village on the west bank of the river. I do not pretend to give names, which it is easy to obtain from the crew, but hardly possible to write, after their pronunciation, in a way to be intelligible. A number of unsuccessful efforts of this sort have induced me to abandon the attempt. Here are three mosques, besides a large tomb with a mosque attached to it. This structure is 100 feet square independent of the court enclosing the fountain, which nearly equals it in dimensions. I was still more interested in a very respectable schoolhouse attached to this establishment, where a number of boys are taught gratuitously. Many similar institutions are met with in this country. A Mussulman who devotes a portion of his wealth to the erection of a costly mausoleum, commonly endows a school or other charity in connexion with it. Persons of scantier means or of less liberality cause a fountain to be built and kept in repair by the side of their final resting-place; and while mats and other appliances invite the pious traveller to prayer within the tomb, a reservoir near the door offers its refreshing contents to quench his thirst, or for the ablutions enjoined by his religion. Instead of a permanent reservoir or fountain, some of these tombs are merely furnished with two or three large earthen vessels, daily replenished with water, and supplied with rude cups of the same material, to be used in drinking. It is pleasing to meet with even the most rude and simple evidences of some care for the improvement and comfort of the people.

Our curiosity was gratified to-day by the sight of a crocodile. He was stretched upon the sand, enjoying the bright, glowing sunshine, and, on our approach, leisurely crept into the water. He may have been seven feet in length.

January 26. We made better progress to-day than we had previously done during our voyage. While retarded by the usual calm in the morning, I went on shore to enjoy a walk among the wheat-fields, and the beautiful groves of acacia and palm trees. This region is increasingly populous. I came to several considerable villages in my walk of about two hours.

A little after 2 P.M. we passed Girgeh, on the right bank of the river, the former capital of Upper Egypt, now an important market-town with several mosques, and probably as many thousand inhabitants. I was struck with its beautiful situation on the high banks of the Nile, and its minarets towering above the graceful palm-trees, which, as usual, hide all that is disgusting on a nearer approach. Back of the city stretches an immense plain, highly cultivated, and burdened with a various and luxuriant vegetation. In front flows the broad, deep current of the river of Egypt, and Mount Mokattam, returning from one of its magnificent detours in the Desert, approaches quite to the Nile, and rises abruptly from the opposite shore to the height of several hundred feet, into forms so graceful and regular as to resemble some tasteful and venerable monument of architecture. This range of mountains I must regard as one of the most remarkable and beautiful features of Egypt. It is wholly unlike any mountain I have before seen, in several respects. I speak of the Arabian chain. That on the Libyan side is similar in its general character, but it generally maintains a greater distance from the river, and I had fewer opportunities of observing it carefully. I think, too, it is much less beautiful and interesting than the Arabian chain, which is always, or nearly so, in full view, constantly inviting and

rewarding the gazing eye. I have already spoken of the golden, autumnal colouring with which the elements, too gentle here to deface or destroy, have clothed it, as with a garment of soft, heavenly radiance. Seen at a little distance, it has the appearance of an immense wall of regular masonry. The eye, dazzled and delighted with the mellow lights that are reflected from its radiant cliffs, is unable or unwilling to dwell upon blemishes. A nearer approach discloses a number of shelves and breaks in the rock, and the declivity is in some places so gentle as to be ascended without much difficulty. The side next the river is composed, for the most part, of regular horizontal strata, rising, tier above tier, like a pile of masonry. Occasionally these strata are undulating, still maintaining a surprising degree of regularity, and in a few places they dip at a considerable angle towards the Desert or the river. It must be admitted that, in the whole extent of this long range, there are many deviations from the degree of order and comparative regularity which I have described. The rock assumes a wide variety of aspects and forms; but they are always agreeable to the eye and remarkably graceful. It varies in height from 100 or 200 to 1000 or 1500 feet; while the changes in altitude are generally so gradual as hardly to be observed; sections of the mountain, extending many miles in length, seem to be of a height perfectly uniform. The eye, in ranging along their even summit, is unable to detect the slightest deviation from a right line. This range of mountains, so remarkable in many interesting particulars, during its long course of several hundred miles, alternately approaches quite to the bank of the river, and recedes from it, sweeping away several miles into the Desert, and enclosing in its ample embrace a broad plain, beautiful and fertile, which it protects against the inundations of sand with its impregnable bulwarks; when it returns again to expose its base to the waves of the fraternal Nile. I know

not how many of these semicircular plains we have passed, but this is the prevailing structure of the country.

When seen by moonlight, which is here very brilliant, or when lit up by the rays of the rising or setting sun, these mountains acquire additional and peculiar beauty.

Our difficulties with our worthless rais return every evening. Indeed, we are always annoyed by his indolence and misconduct, except when there is not wind enough to propel the boat at a good rate; then, having nothing to do, he is sometimes harmless. As usual, he turned towards the shore before the proper time this evening. As the wind was still sufficient to enable us to advance against the current, Mr. J. demanded why he deviated from the course. The rais said he was preparing to tack in order to pass an elbow in the river just before us. He proceeded till the boat nearly touched the bank, when Mr. J. ordered him to turn into the stream, which he refused, and said he should stop there for the night. Messrs. C. and J. took the setting-poles and pushed off into the river, when the rais turned back again to the shore, and ordered the men to land. We at length succeeded, with much difficulty, in getting under sail again, compelling the rais to take an oar and work with the men in carrying the boat out into the stream. Nothing can be more disagreeable and painful than these incessant altercations. An irresolute man, who had not time and patience to be delayed and imposed upon at the discretion of these barbarians, would certainly be compelled to give up the voyage, or procure another boat, which, I suppose, could not be done in this region. We have determined to apply to the governor of the next town to displace the rais and appoint one of the men in his place, a Nubian, who understands his business, and is not deficient in industry. We have three Nubians on board, all distinguished for their orderly conduct and attention to their duty. But for them I think we must have abandoned our voyage. We should

certainly have been greatly retarded. These people are reckoned the best sailors upon the river, and are selected by the pacha to man his fleet. They are also preferred to the Arabs as domestic servants, being more industrious, as well as honest.

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## CHAPTER X.

Walk on Shore.—Curiosity of the Fellahs.—Low Prices.—Doura.—Crocodiles.—Buffaloes.—Domestic Animals.—Tardy Progress.—Rural Villages.—Dogs.—Water Carriers.—Early Devotions.—Idleness and Disgusting Habits of the People.—Pigeon-houses and Pigeons.—Interior of an Arab Cottage.—Gheneh.—Valley of Coseir.—Overland Route to India.—Interesting Manufactures.—Arraignment of the Rais.—An impartial Judge.—Aspect of the Country.—Cultivation.—The Palm-tree.—Its manifold Uses.—Thebaid Palm.—Encroachments of the Desert.—Cowardice of the Boatmen.—The African Wind.—Singular Appearance.—The American Flag.

We left our mooring earlier than usual this morning (January 27). Our people move with more celerity, and show greater readiness to obey. As to the rais, he keeps quiet, leaving the direction of affairs, as usual, pretty much to the old Nubian. He seems to have no respect or sympathy from the crew, among whom discipline and subordination are little known. We have several times heard them call him a fool, and reproach him with knowing nothing of his duty or of the river.

We took a long walk upon the shore, passing by large fields of wheat, and several populous villages. The sun was oppressively hot before 8 o'clock, and I had reason to regret having left my umbrella on board. We at length stopped near a village under the shade of some palm-trees, waiting for the boat, which had fallen far behind us, though we had proceeded at a very moderate pace; so tedious is this navigation, and so indolent are the men, who hardly exceed

a mile and a half an hour in towing. The place where we stopped was at a considerable distance from the village; not so far, however, as to save us from the annoyance of the crowd, who, to the number of fifty or sixty, soon thronged us. We had some difficulty to avoid contact with them, so eager was their curiosity. Many of the children and boys were naked, and, with a few exceptions, all the rest were clad in the most vile and tattered habiliments. One of the women had brought a few eggs for sale, and upon our servant's showing a little inclination to buy, several boys and girls, in a state of nudity, ran away to the village, and soon returned with an additional supply. We bought all they had, fifty-six in number, for which they asked only one piaster. Our crew, who make all their purchases at better rates than we do, stopped in the village, and bought seventy-five for the same sum. Other articles of food are rather dearer in proportion. A large chicken costs one piaster, or one and a half. We have bought beef at half a piaster the pound, sometimes for less. The common bread of the country is sold here at the incredibly low price of fifteen or sixteen pounds the piaster. It is made of a grain called doura, which grows upon a tall slender stalk, not unlike broom-corn. The grain has some resemblance to barley, and makes a nutritious and not unpalatable bread. It is planted very thick, and yields abundantly. The straw or stalk is used as fuel for cooking and to burn lime, for the roofs of cottages, &c. One species of the doura thrives well without irrigation, and is much cultivated on the high banks of the river, which are not flooded by the inundation. This constitutes the chief food of the common people in this part of Egypt. It is not so generally used as low down the country as Cairo.

Crocodiles are becoming quite plenty. We counted eight to-day at one time, stretched upon the banks of sand that form small islands in the river. Here they remained bask-

ing in the sunshine, till, disturbed by our approach, they crawled into the water. At no great distance, a herd of buffaloes were standing in the river, with only their heads above the water. They had taken refuge there from the heat, which at midday was about equal to the average temperature of summer in the United States. These animals have little likeness to those of the same name in our western forests. They are domesticated, and supply the largest part of the milk, butter, and cheese consumed in this country. Their flesh is not esteemed equal in quality to that of the ox, though more used by the Egyptians. In size they are considerably larger than cattle of the common breed. Their colour is almost uniformly a dark brown, or muddy black. They are ill-formed and unwieldy in their motion. The neck is set much below the line of the back. The head hangs near the ground, but it is carried horizontally, like the camel's. Their horns are flat, resembling those of the sheep or goat. They grow back, towards the sides of the animal, with the tips turned inward and pointing towards each other. This animal, besides the good quality of its milk and butter, is valuable for its ability to subsist on the poorest food. It feeds upon a species of very coarse, tough grass, nearly useless for other purposes, which grows spontaneously upon the highest banks of the Nile. Other kinds of stock are not abundant in Upper Egypt, and buffaloes are more numerous than cattle of the common species. I have seen a few small flocks of black sheep, whose shaggy, coarse fleeces, are wrought into wearing apparel by the fellahs. Their flesh is not very good, though perhaps it is the best meat in this part of Egypt. There is also a scanty stock of goats. Of swine I have not seen one since I left Cairo, and only one since I landed in Alexandria. Being prohibited to Mussulmen as an article of food, the species seems to have become extinct, or nearly so. Horses are very scarce. I do not

remember to have seen above three or four during our voyage, though we sail in full view of all the land travel, as the only public road passes along the river bank. Camels are mostly confined to the towns and to the Desert. A few are seen traversing the valley of the Nile as beasts of burden. The donkey, however, is more commonly used for this purpose, and almost exclusively for the saddle.

January 28. We sailed to-day before a fair wind, which commenced blowing, as usual, about 11 o'clock. Before that hour our progress was very slight, by the tow-line. With so many objects of deep interest before us, and only a limited and very brief time to explore them, this tardy movement is exceedingly inconvenient and vexatious. But the wind blows when and where it lists, and our wishes, however eager and pressing, have about as much influence in raising or directing this inconstant element, as in overcoming the indolence of our Arabs. One spontaneously falls into a kind of moody philosophy adapted to untoward circumstances. I owe many interesting walks to the fickleness of the wind and the laziness of the men, and I certainly do not regard as lost the hours spent in admiring the exuberant fertility of this wonderful vale, and in observing the unique, rude processes of its agriculture. The rural villages contain many objects for curious observation, which I have by no means exhausted, though I have entered and carefully explored a great many during this voyage. My visits are often made early in the morning, occasionally before sunrise, when a majority of the people are asleep. On these occasions I am always welcomed by a host of dogs, who are put upon the alert by the sight of a white face and European dress. The race is surprisingly numerous, the first yelp of the sentinel cur being followed in an instant by scores of canine voices. They rush towards me from all quarters, while the more timid or indolent are seen taking their positions on the mounds of rubbish which encompass

the village, or upon the flat roofs of the houses, all barking in full chorus. They are a cowardly race. A brickbat or two, which is always at hand, is commonly sufficient to put this tumultuous army to flight and still their uproar. If a fellah happens to witness the scene, he usually calls off the dogs, and then asks for bucksheesh.

The first persons who make their appearance in the morning are women with large earthen jars upon their heads, on their way to the river for water. They do not wear veils, but cover their faces with the corner of their tattered robe, and peep at you with one eye only. Having performed their ablutions, which extend to the hands, face, feet, and legs, they fill their vessels and return towards the village. They manifest the most eager curiosity, and often turn back to gaze upon the stranger. Next appear a number of men, probably of the devouter sort, going in the same direction to perform their ablutions and say their prayers. Having washed in the river, they reascend to the top of the bank, and bow down with their faces towards the tomb of the Prophet. When the sun waxes hot, the multitude come forth from their houses of mud into the bazar, but in the largest number to the open spaces and mounds outside of the walls. Here, at the hour when the peasantry of other countries are going forth into the fields with their implements of agriculture, these indolent, degraded people may be seen basking in the sunshine, sitting or lying on the ground. These masses of rubbish, where the heat of the climate and the filthy habits of the people have perpetuated the third of the curses of Pharaoh, are the favourite haunts of the fellahs—a sort of exchange, where they spend a considerable portion of their time, not, so far as a stranger can perceive, socially and rationally, but in yawning indolence or sleep. One occupation only seems attractive enough to rouse them from this luxurious repose. Scores of them—all who are employed at all, may be seen search-

ing their filthy clothes and persons for vermin, which they kill forthwith, and very adroitly. Women and children—men with venerable beards and turbans, are absorbed in this pursuit. They take off their clothes and sit naked, to accomplish their object more effectually; and many are seen doing this good office for others, men for men, husbands for wives, young women for old men, probably their fathers. I am liable to the suspicion of exaggeration in this statement. It is literally true, however, and by no means overcharged. I witnessed the disgusting scene almost daily, and many times in a day. At first I was unable to bring myself to record it, but the frequent recurrence of the spectacle compelled me to regard this as one of the most general and characteristic of those beastly habits that mark the degradation of these people. I have several times seen men in a state of nudity in these promiscuous crowds. Girls and boys, ten years of age, are constantly met with in this state. I presume, however, that the adults referred to were all idiots, who commonly go naked in this country. They are looked upon with religious veneration, as holy persons, the favourites of Heaven, where, even in this life, their souls are reposing, whose primitive innocence and purity justify and even demand a disregard of the ordinary decencies of life. The freest indulgence is given to their appetites and propensities, and they satisfy all the wants of nature as publicly as do the brutes. I have nowhere else seen such loathsome sights, and I record them as curious evidence of the degradation possible to man under the combined influence of a bad government and a false religion.

As I am speaking of the Arab villages, I will mention a singular feature belonging to most of those of Upper Egypt. Every cottage, nearly, is surmounted by an additional story, sometimes by two or three, occupied by pigeons. These birds are seen in incredible numbers, lighting on the fields and banks of the river, and at the approach of evening they

hover over the villages in such multitudes as to darken the air. Their houses are constructed of earthen jars piled up in the form of a wall, each affording a place for a nest. Vast quantities of the young are sent alive to Cairo and other markets, and they form an important article of trade as well as of food.

I have taken various opportunities to look into the interior of the habitations of the fellahs. They differ but little from those seen in the Delta, and are not commonly more than eight or ten feet in length or diameter, for they are frequently circular. They are without doors or fireplaces, and often without roofs, the mildness of the climate and exemption from rains rendering a slight awning formed of palm-leaves, a mat, or the stalks of doura, a sufficient protection. In many instances these materials are merely placed against the mud wall with one end upon the ground, thus forming a rude shelter, under which these poor people sleep at night and take refuge by day from the chilling winds which sometimes, though seldom, blow from the sources of the Nile. The walls of these huts, as well as the roofs, are often composed of the straw of the doura or of reeds. These materials are sometimes combined, and plastered with a mud cement. The better class of cottages have flat roofs made of mud resting on a layer of palm-leaves or stalks of doura, which again are sustained by rafters of the palm-tree. They contain but a few articles of furniture. A bench twelve or fifteen inches high, formed by a projecting part of the wall, serves as a place for sleep. Even this is not very common, the floor of earth serving instead of chairs and beds, as well as tables. It is rather unusual to see the additional luxury of a mat of palm-leaves or straw. This and two or three earthen vessels for water and cooking appear to comprehend everything in the shape of furniture.

We arrived at Gheneh or Keneh in the afternoon, and having some wants to supply, we reluctantly moored our

boat by the shore, though the wind, which had been unsteady and light, was beginning to blow more propitiously. This is a large town of 10,000 inhabitants, important for some commercial advantages which it possesses, but chiefly as being the point where pilgrims in vast numbers assemble on their way to Mecca through the valley of Coseir. Nearly opposite to this city there is a break in the long chain of mountains, of whose peculiarities I have said so much, affording one of the best and most frequented outlets from the valley of the Nile to the Red Sea.

Travellers by the overland route to India ascend the Nile to this town, and pass through the valley of Coseir to join the steamboats bound from Suez to Bombay, and many of the employés of the East India Company, on their return to England, disembark at the termination of this valley upon the Red Sea, and, crossing by camels to Gheneh, visit Thebes and Assouan before prosecuting their homeward voyage. Suez, however, is the more usual point of debarcation as well as departure, on this new thoroughfare between Europe and the East.

The place has no antiquities or modern edifices of any importance. An extensive pottery gives employment to a considerable number of people, and supplies immense quantities of coarse earthen vessels. This ware is highly prized, especially the water-jars, which are said to cool as well as purify the water of the Nile, and it is employed in an inconceivable variety of ways, for domestic, agricultural, and other purposes. Some notion may be formed of its cheapness and quality, from a purchase of eight water-bottles of the capacity of about a quart each, for all of which we paid a piaster.

With a hope of diminishing the vexations, if not accelerating the speed of the remainder of our voyage, my fellow-travellers took the rais before the governor of Gheneh, and, having stated his incompetence and misconduct, requested

this functionary to displace him and appoint a successor. This is sometimes done, but the governor declared that it exceeded his authority to remove the rais, though he would cheerfully administer the bastinado for his past misconduct, and as a pledge for the future. This, I was glad to find, was declined by my associates. The rais, who bowed nearly to the earth on approaching the dignitary, and trembled with fear throughout the whole interview, received a severe reprimand, and a promise of being beaten nearly to death should we renew our complaint on returning to Gheneh. He at first attempted to justify or palliate his conduct; but the impartial judge refused to listen to his statement, calling him a liar, and telling him that he no doubt richly merited a severe chastisement, as it was clear the Howagas would not have been at the trouble of arraigning him if his conduct had been satisfactory. The rais devoutly kissed the governor's hand in gratitude for escaping the bastinado—which he really owed to the clemency of my companions—and on his return to the boat declared his intention to obey all of our orders and use all possible efforts to please.

January 29. Still baffled by a head wind, we set off early this morning, the rais, as well as his men, evidently acting under the impulse received in his interview with the governor. He reported all that passed to his crew, who were included in the promise of punishment for future misconduct.

The valley of the Nile gradually contracts as we advance southward, retaining, however, all its peculiar features. The Libyan chain of mountains is to-day nearer and more visible than it has been at any previous time, and it exhibits the same interesting structure and graceful forms which we have enjoyed so many opportunities of admiring in the parallel range. Its sinuosities, however, are more abrupt, and its general features less regular. The eastern range is

here remote from the river. After yielding a passage to the valley of Coseir, it reappears in irregular hills of no great height. They seem, as observed from the river, to be mere heaps of sand. A slight change has also taken place in the appearance of the arable region. The doura is more extensively cultivated, and the luxuriant fields of wheat are proportionally less numerous and extensive. Another species of palm appears, less tall and graceful than the date-bearing tree, but still a picturesque and beautiful object.

The date-palm, which alone is seen in lower and middle Egypt, rises without a limb to the height of fifty or sixty feet. It is straight and slender, with a thick rough bark. The top is an object of peculiar beauty. The branches, which all shoot from the top of the stately trunk, and appear of nearly equal length, bend gracefully and uniformly, and form a broad and beautiful crown of evergreen. The palm-tree is one of the most useful of the products of Egypt. Its fruits constitute an important article of food, of which great quantities are exported. The trunk is used in building houses, for rafters, beams, &c. It is a loose, porous wood, having the appearance of a bundle of fibres bound up in the thick bark. It does not rot, as, indeed, no timber can in such a climate. Of the branches a multitude of articles are made for domestic and other uses, chairs, bedsteads, chests, crates, &c. They are rude, but cheap and very serviceable. Mats, baskets, sacks, &c., are manufactured of the leaves. The fibres of this wonderful tree supply material for the ropes used in rigging boats, and for other purposes. Almost everything in Egypt is made of the clay of the Nile, or of the palm-tree.

The Thebaid palm bears a different fruit from the other. It only attains to about half its height, and is not so uniformly straight. A more striking difference is, that it puts out several branches or trunks, each of which has a separate

crown of foliage. A number of these trees, sometimes as many as ten or a dozen, rise from the same root.

The vale of the Nile has narrowed perceptibly since yesterday. The Arabian chain, indeed, recedes nearly in the same ratio that the Libyan approaches the river; but it embraces a barren region, being no longer of sufficient height to present an effectual barrier against the sands of the Desert when put in motion by strong winds. There is a considerable tract of arable land immediately on the bank, between which and the mountain intervenes a sandy waste. There are few villages, and the palm-tree, whose abundance or scarcity is proportioned pretty exactly to the fertility or barrenness of the soil, more rarely appears.

Our men refused to stop for the night on the eastern side of the river. They have the utmost horror of the Bedouins of the Desert; and wherever their sterile domains press close upon the Nile, we are entertained with stories of robbery and bloodshed, and warned of the danger of mooring in a suspected neighbourhood. This tale of danger has been in the mouths of our crew from the commencement of our voyage. They seldom fail to let us know by the time the sun has disappeared, or before, that we are in a safe and proper place to spend the night, and faithfully forewarn us of the imminent peril to be encountered from sleeping in proximity to the lawless villagers who infest the banks of the river a little farther on. When we compel them to go on, as we usually do, without respect to the dangers of the voyage, which always prove chimerical, they seldom fail to assure us that we owe our safety to their vigilance. They have not slept a moment during the night, so intense has been their desire to guard the Howagas from danger and depredation. We had reason for believing to-night that their fears were real. They rowed the boat across the river voluntarily. This act of violence done to the vis inertiæ which seems the ruling element of their nature, was

good evidence of the reality of their apprehensions. They are a timid, cowardly race, as we have constant opportunities of observing.

January 30. I began my usual walk upon the shore very early this morning. The air was chilly and disagreeable. The wind, which has proceeded from the north with a good deal of regularity for the last eight or ten days, has changed during the last night, and blows from the south. It is disagreeably cold, and, at the same time, very relaxing. I have observed ever since my arrival in Egypt, that northerly winds are uniformly warmer than those from the opposite direction. I often had occasion to remark in the south of Italy the relaxing influence of African gales, even when tempered by passing over the Mediterranean, and I feel their power still more sensibly here. Indeed, their deleterious influence has quite unnerved me in mind and body, and I am almost induced to fear that the delightful sense of renovated health to which, until within the last few weeks, I have been so long a stranger, may prove illusory. The firmament has lost its fathomless depth of blue and its brilliant transparency, though no cloud appears on its brow. It seems troubled and labouring. The sun, which usually rises imbosomed in a sea of resplendent red light, appeared this morning languid and pale, shorn of its dazzling lustre. It was several hours above the horizon before it had produced any decided change of temperature, and it was near 10 o'clock when it resumed its usual brilliancy. A little after that hour we had a slight northerly breeze, which partially restored the elasticity of the atmosphere.

We had the pleasure this morning of meeting a boat descending the river under the American flag. It belonged to Mr. Morris, of Philadelphia, who has a Venetian gentleman for a fellow-traveller. They had visited Thebes and the Cataracts, and were now on their return to Lower Egypt. Having been for many weeks deprived of all intercourse

with the world, they made eager inquiries after intelligence from Europe and America, which we were unable to satisfy farther than by repeating the vague and perplexing rumours that reached Cairo just before our departure. The stuffed skins of several large crocodiles, which Mr. M. is carrying to America with other specimens of natural history and Egyptian antiquities, occupied the upper deck, and gave to this peaceful craft a rather dubious and formidable appearance.

## CHAPTER XI.

Thebes.—Situation.—Luxor.—Frank Boats.—Roman Pier.—Temple.—Propylon.—Obelisk.—Colossal Statues.—Sculpture.—Portico.—Colonnades.—Adytum.—Accumulations.—Village within the Temple.—Church.—Mutilations.—Material.—Progressive Plan.—Voyage to Assouan.—Valley of the Nile.—Cotton Fields.—Egyptian Cotton.—Irrigation.—Esneh.—Roman Pier.—Castle.—Ancient Temple.—Architecture.—Ornaments.—The Interior.—Columns.—Zodiac.—Bold Conjecture.—Study of Hieroglyphics.—Age of this Temple.—Obstructions.—Delay.—Mutual Distrusts.—Aspect of the Country.—Holy Tombs.—Benefit of Contrast.—Ruins.—Night at Edfou.—Frank Boat.—National Peculiarities.—Arab Salutations.—A courteous Sailor.—Soil and Products.—Tillage.—Sand.—Induration of the Soil.—Appearance of the Crops.—Meeting with a Countryman.—Jebel Silsily.—Quarries.—Adverse Wind.—Nautical Skill of our Crew.—Energy of the Rais.—Medical Treatment.—Unmerited Honour.—Temple of Quom Ombos.—Description.—Effect of Egyptian Architecture.

WISHING our countrymen a good voyage, we resumed our own, and were soon in view of the monuments of ancient Thebes. The mountain west, or rather northwest, of that venerable metropolis, had been in sight throughout the morning. The confined vale of the Nile here expands into a broad fertile plain, extending many miles to the south. Thebes occupied the lower or northern part of this plain, and extended from the Libyan quite to the Arabian chain of

mountains, a distance of perhaps four or five miles. The site is beautiful and even magnificent—worthy of the most ancient of cities, and of the stupendous monuments which still attest its early grandeur. It occupies both sides of the river, the banks of which, and the elevated ground near the bases of the mountains, afforded commanding situations for temples, palaces, and other edifices. The royal and other celebrated tombs are excavated in the Libyan mountain, which limits the field of ruins on the northwest. It is here a lofty and picturesque pile, possessing all the interesting peculiarities of rich colouring, beautiful form and proportion, and graceful irregularity, of which I have spoken before. The monuments, like the ancient city, occupy both sides of the Nile: the larger number the western, the more massive and stupendous the eastern side.

On the latter shore is Luxor, the harbour, ancient as well as modern, of the place. Here we moored our boat in company with six others bearing Christian flags, which had arrived before us. The stupendous remains of an ancient temple stand near the shore, and to these our observations to-day were confined. In proceeding from our boat to the ruins, we clambered up a massive wall of Roman architecture. The part which is visible may be fifteen feet high by nearly as many rods in length. It is mostly composed of large square stones without cement, and is in good preservation. The southern extremity is brick. This wall, which, in any other situation, would attract a large share of attention, is an ancient pier. The mud of the Nile and the drifting sand have filled up the old harbour and buried the greater part of the pier, thus removing the landing-place and the present bank of the Nile thirty rods farther west.

It is the rear of the Temple of Luxor that rests upon the river. The front looks eastward towards Carnac and its still more magnificent ruins, with which this temple was originally connected by an avenue of sculptured sphinxes,

one and a half miles in length. The propylon, or gateway, of the Temple of Luxor, then, is nearly 1000 feet from the Nile. It may be described as consisting of two towers or oblong masses of masonry, rising on either side of the entrance into the temple. The length of both, including the space or door between them, is about 200 feet. This measurement is made upon the present surface of the earth, which is above the natural perhaps thirty feet. These towers, or parts of the propylon, contract regularly from the foundation to the summit, and the length is, therefore, more than 200—it may be 250 feet. They are fifty-seven feet in height above the present surface. Two staircases—one impassable, the other nearly so—lead to their summits, where a good view is gained of the plan of the temple itself, which it is not so easy to obtain from below, and of the site and plain of Thebes.

A few yards in front of the propylon, and south of the entrance, stands a beautiful obelisk of red granite, ten feet square at the base, and more than eighty feet high. It is covered with hieroglyphics, the most perfect and beautiful I have seen. They are nearly two inches deep, and appear as fresh and entire as a recent inscription. Their sharpest angles, as well as those of the immense mass in which they are chiselled, are not abraded or blunted in the slightest degree. There was another similar obelisk opposite to this, in front of the northern half of the propylon. It is now standing in the Place de Concord, in Paris, close to the spot where Louis XVI., Robespierre, &c., were beheaded.

Between the obelisks and the propylon, on the right and left of the entrance, are two colossal statues, said, by Wilkinson, to be those of Rameses II., which, though buried in rubbish to the breast, still measure twenty-two feet in height. A third, of red granite, retaining a perfect polish, stands a little farther north, also in front of the propylon. The front of this massive pile, through which we enter the temple,

is covered with sculpture, which represents a battle-scene taken from the history of Egypt. It contains a great many figures, all spirited and excellent in their kind, and indicating much advancement in the art. This sculpture has not failed to call forth the warmest admiration of travellers and artists. Many parts of it, however, are obscure and partially obliterated from the huge blocks of stone which have been less successful than the granite obelisk in front of them in resisting the ravages of time. My weak nerves and eyes would not allow me to follow the representation.

I have hitherto spoken only of the gateway and its sumptuous ornaments. This leads into a portico about 200 feet long by 160 broad. It is formed by a gallery of two rows of columns half concealed by vile hovels, as are the remains of the wall covered with hieroglyphics. A long avenue, formed of two rows of columns, fourteen in all, each twenty-nine feet in circumference at the present surface and nearly forty high, conducts from this portico to another enclosure, formed likewise by double rows of columns. These are inferior in size to those last mentioned, but still very large. Each column is composed of several frusta of sandstone of unequal thickness. This apartment is nearly 160 feet long by 140 wide.

Next succeeds a colonnade, ten columns in length by three in breadth, all covered with hieroglyphic inscriptions. A cross wall separates this from a second cluster of columns, eight in length by four deep. Here, finally, is the temple proper, or sanctuary, which is only an inconsiderable chamber. Still farther are many small rooms, and some larger ones, supported by columns. The entire length of this edifice is stated to be about 800 feet, by a breadth varying from 300 feet to the mere width of a passage between two parallel rows of columns. It is difficult, if not impossible, to take the measurement accurately.

The general effect of this vast structure is greatly im-

paired by heaps of rubbish, and yet more by the mud huts of an Arab village within its precincts. No contrast could be more perfect than the one here exhibited between the ancient and the modern. I should think that two or three hundred people, at the least, live within the temple. Another part is occupied as a government storehouse, while a mosque and a school find accommodation in the portico next the propylon. Within the same ample fane are stables and cow-houses, rife with the lore that has mocked the genius and erudition of ages. I saw goats penned on the top of lofty and beautiful columns, and several cottages occupy a similar aerial site. The ground-plot of this temple is a mere labyrinth formed of these vile dens and the filthy lanes conducting to them. It literally swarms with people, who seem to be peculiarly degraded. You must bow your head low in order to enter their houses, not to mention the more serious annoyances within; and these places must be visited, or only a very unsatisfactory view of the temple can be had. The expense would be inconsiderable of sweeping this rubbish all away, and of bringing into a clear view this noble monument. There is certainly not much probability of such an event.

A part of this temple has been used as a church, as is manifest from the crosses cut in the walls. Other mutilations have been made in attempting to obliterate the figures of the sacred animals of the Egyptians sculptured on different parts of the building. This effort of misguided zeal has met with little success, as the outline of nearly every figure remains perfect, and the chipping only serves to attract more marked attention. It is, indeed, a pretty good guide to one not very fresh in his mythological reading.

The material of this splendid structure is sandstone. Several statues of grotesque and unnatural forms—monstrous combinations of parts of different quadrupeds with each

other, or with those of men, are seen lying around the temple. They are of fine sienite granite.

The Temple of Luxor, it is evident, was not the result of one great plan, nor the work of a single generation of men; but different potentates, as they happened to be inspired by piety, taste, or vanity, and favoured by circumstances, added, successively, to its vast dimensions and sumptuous decorations. Still the various enlargements and additions were made with so much skill as to preserve a good degree of symmetry, and to improve rather than impair the general effect. The most ancient portion of this edifice is ascribed to Aminoph III., who ascended the throne B.C. 1430.*

In pursuance of the general plan of our journey, we recommenced our voyage up the river at 4 P.M., after devoting sufficient time to the survey of this noble structure, reserving till our return the many interesting objects in this vicinity, to which we hope to devote several days. We proceeded tardily, and moored before 8 o'clock.

January 31. I walked several miles, early this morning, upon the eastern bank of the river. The mountain is five or six miles distant, but the whole intervening tract is incapable of cultivation, being composed of sand filled with pebbles and small stones. This is not one of the spots made waste by the encroachments of the Desert, as the soil is not alluvial, and was never fit for cultivation. The surface is uneven, and quite bare of vegetation, with the exception of a narrow strip upon the bank, which bears the coarse grass everywhere to be seen on elevations too high to be reached by the inundation. Two or three inconsiderable fields below the common level are irrigated and tilled in doura. I passed one small hamlet. A few miles farther on, the appearance of the country improves. The valley is still more narrowed by the nearer approach of the mount-

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 166.

aing to the river, but the banks are low, and all under cultivation.

Several small fields of cotton attracted my particular attention by their luxuriance and beauty. The plant is ten feet in height, in the fullness of its verdure, and laden with blooms and bolls in every stage between incipient formation and full maturity. The boll is greatly inferior in size to that of the species cultivated in the southern part of the United States, and the cotton, when ripe and ready for the harvest, does not expand and hang loose, but clings to the husk, from which it is separated with some difficulty. The cotton-field, therefore, never puts on the aspect of dazzling whiteness and beauty which forms so lovely and splendid a feature in southern landscapes. The plant is perennial. I was told in Trieste that the Egyptian cotton sold as high as our upland: a sufficient proof that it is not inferior in quality. But for this information I should, without hesitation, have given a decided preference to the American product, which seems to me to be of a finer and longer staple. The Egyptian cotton is sent to the market in a very bad condition. It is trashy, and the bales are ill packed and of a slovenly make. In a climate like this, where rain is unknown, the cotton is, of course, free from stains.

Irrigation is much more general in this narrow portion of the vale, than it is in Middle and Lower Egypt. It may be the soil is more thirsty as the climate becomes more intensely warm; or, perhaps, the scarcity of arable land has induced a more systematic and elaborate culture. The banks of the river are studded with the rude contrivances for raising the water which I have already described. They succeed each other at intervals of only eight or ten rods, and the eye, at a single glance, often embraces thirty or forty naked barbarians straining their fine, swarthy limbs in raising the water, from stage to stage, to the top of the bank, from which it is conducted to the different fields that spread

over the plain. The wheel is little used, though I have seen three or four within the last week.

February 1. We stopped last night at Esneh, a considerable town on the western bank of the river. It has some importance both as a place of commerce and of manufactures. I have no means of ascertaining, though, from its extent, I should conjecture that 5000 might be an approximation to the number of its inhabitants. A high wall of massive hewn stone, and apparently ancient, lines a part of the bank of the Nile, and may have been constructed for a pier to be used in times of high water. It has also been thought the remains of a temple, but it has no resemblance to the Egyptian temples, and has much to the Roman pier at Luxor. A few rods farther up the river, and also on the bank, is a large, semi-ruinous building of brick, from an upper story of which two cannon, of large calibre, look out, with a threatening aspect, upon the river. They would produce great alarm and might do serious mischief to a fleet of Arab boats daring enough to plot rebellion against the pacha, and it is pretty certain that a single discharge would bring down this crazy fortress about the ears of its defenders.

Esneh has the usual characteristics of an Egyptian town—mountains of rubbish outside, and abundance of filth within, animated and vocal with a half-naked, indolent crowd, and a host of yelping dogs. It has, however, one peculiar attraction. In the most crowded part of the town, surrounded and partially concealed by mud cottages, there is a beautiful temple, or portico of a demolished temple, of the ancient Egyptian style, in a state of almost perfect preservation. It is not less interesting for being of smaller dimensions than the Temple of Luxor and some others, since it is on this account more easy to comprehend the plan, and study the details satisfactorily. We made the length one hundred and twenty feet, by sixty feet wide. It is constructed of massive blocks

of hewn stone, so perfectly fitted to each other that the joining is with difficulty discovered. The height of the wall cannot be ascertained on account of the mass of rubbish accumulated at its base. The upper tier of stones projects beyond the rest, and they are chiselled into an ample and beautiful architrave, ornamented variously, and painted in showy colours. The whole exterior wall is covered with hieroglyphics. The entablature is composed of immense masses of stone, one of which measures twenty-one feet in length by perhaps five in width and thickness, and rests on the top of six columns, built into the wall.

The interior of the temple is admirable for its finish and proportions. The ceiling is supported by twenty-four columns arranged in four rows of six columns each, one row being built into the front wall, from which it projects rather less than half a diameter. These columns have the lotus-leaf capital, elaborately and elegantly carved. The ornaments of each capital are dissimilar from all the rest, and yet the whole is executed with such taste and skill that the effect is rather improved than injured by this variety. The columns are surmounted by immense beams of stone, extending from one to another, and on these rests the ceiling, which is also the roof. It is formed of flat stones apparently polished, and covered in every part, as are the massive joists that support them, the walls and the columns, with hieroglyphics and various figures beautifully sculptured. I measured one of these columns, which is between sixteen and seventeen feet in circumference. The bases of all are buried in rubbish, so that their height cannot be ascertained. The greatest height of the ceiling above the present surface, we conjectured to be about forty feet.

A part of the ceiling is inscribed with figures, commonly believed to be the signs of the zodiac. Taking these as the basis of an astronomical calculation, it was demonstrated that this temple existed several thousands of years before

the creation of the world. Some less courageous antiquarians have doubted whether these groups are astronomical at all, or even astrological. They see in them only unintelligible representations of the superstitious observances or fabulous mythology of the ancient Egyptians.

Among the few discoveries in hieroglyphics, limited mostly to deciphering proper names and fixing dates, which the investigations of Champolion, Wilkinson, and others have been able to achieve, it has been demonstrated that this temple, to which the French savans and their followers assigned an antiquity so preposterous, is the work of the Emperor Claudius, one of the most recent of all the structures usually classed with the monuments of ancient Egypt. This particular part of the temple is badly lighted, and I was unable to distinguish the figures which have given rise to so grave an hypothesis. My weak nerves are not more competent to nice examinations, than my mind is to the profound, and not very obvious, processes of reasoning by which ingenious men are able to array so many of the works of nature and art against the truths of the Bible. A plain man has difficulty enough in conceding to structures so fresh and perfect, an antiquity of 3000 or 4000 years. A skeptic, so laudably incredulous with regard to a particular class of subjects, can readily satisfy himself, if it happens to fall in with his master passion, that they have successfully resisted the ravages of time for nearly as many centuries.

It is impossible to survey one of these edifices, covered in every part with mysterious characters, without feeling an ardent wish to comprehend their meaning. A people so skilled in architecture and sculpture were likely to possess no contemptible literature. The imperishable tablets which record their achievements, their progress in arts and sciences, and their philosophical opinions, ever faithful to their trust, offer to the gaze of successive generations the lessons

of wisdom which the fathers of civilization committed to them for the benefit of posterity. We may still be allowed to hope that some masterly genius, or some fortunate accident, will yet discover the key to these full treasuries of history and thought.

The roof of this temple, which, until recently, was covered with the huts of the fellahs, has been, I know not by whose agency, relieved of these nuisances. It now affords a good view of the town, and of the beautiful, well-cultivated plain on the west. All the approaches to the temple, however, are still obstructed by mud walls and filthy avenues. Three of its sides are altogether inaccessible, and of the remaining one only an imperfect and unsatisfactory view is allowed from a street, not two yards wide, running along its base. A few feet of the top, including the interesting painting of the frieze, is visible from the bazar.

It was late in the day before we left Esneh, having been detained for some time to take in a man who lingered in the town after everything was in readiness for hoisting the sail. As the wind continued fair at night, for the first time since we left Cairo, it had been our intention to postpone a visit to this temple until our return from the cataracts. The crew, however, wished to replenish their stock of bread, the only article of provisions for which they do not usually trust to our liberality, or to stealing from the fellahs. We charged the rais to go on shore and make the necessary purchases without permitting his men to scatter in the town, and to be ready to resume the voyage at an early hour, all of which he readily agreed to. On returning to the boat at the time appointed, we found it in charge of a boy, while the captain and crew were gone to the bazars. There we were compelled to go in quest of them, and we found them too happy in their situation to be easily induced to return to their work. One man we could not find, and it was not till our patience had become quite exhausted, and we had com-

pelled the rais to set sail without him, that he finally made his appearance. The men alleged that it was necessary for all to go on shore to purchase bread for themselves, as they cannot trust each other in the smallest transaction, being not only thoroughly dishonest, but universally suspicious. The first evil necessarily produces the second.

During a considerable part of this day the banks of the river were unusually low, and the fields of wheat and doura, interspersed with groves of palm-trees, reach to the water's edge. The whole valley is here covered with water at the season of the inundation, and the inconsiderable elevation of the bank facilitates irrigation by artificial means. The mountains are correspondingly low, and they here retain none of those interesting features which have so often provoked our gaze and admiration. Half way between Esneh and Edfou the eastern range forms an angle which approaches quite to the river; and the summit, which is of considerable elevation, is surmounted with the tomb of a sheik. These are always striking and agreeable objects, though none of them possess any architectural merit. The quadrangle of sun-dried bricks, whitewashed, and supporting a simple, whitewashed cupola, always recurs. The position is commonly well chosen for effect, on some high point of the shore, or some other more considerable elevation. The distance from the spectator who sails in the middle of the river, conceals all the defects of bad materials and bad workmanship; while the dingy, mud-built village, always near, lends the benefit of a striking contrast to these whited sepulchres glittering in the rays of the ever-cloudless sun. The village mosques owe much of their agreeable effect and apparent beauty to the same causes. They are often found, on a near inspection, to be illy constructed of the same materials with the surrounding huts, and in this region are seldom kept clean or in good repair. In these respects, however, they are superior to private buildings, and their greater

dimensions and tall minarets, which are always kept white, rising not only above the surrounding mud walls, but higher than the graceful, overshadowing palm-trees, produce, when seen at a distance, a favourable impression, that is heightened by the contrast of mean and unsightly objects, which, on a nearer approach, are gradually revealed to the eye. I counted about a dozen of these modern tombs near a large village which we passed to-day on the edge of the Arabian Desert. A little farther up the river are considerable ruins visible from our boat. The temple, ruins, and grottoes of El Cab are in this neighbourhood, which, with other interesting objects, we have reserved to add to the pleasure of our return voyage.

February 2. We stopped for the last night off Edfou, the wind failing us about 9 o'clock. Our sleep was interrupted by the arrival of a downward bound boat, which moored just above us. We were told by our crew that the party were Americans, and on this account were more eager in our inquiries, as we expected to meet a gentleman from Boston about this time on his return from the cataracts. It is usual with Americans, when they meet abroad, to dispense with the formalities that, even in the United States, where society is less embarrassed with etiquette than it is in most other countries, attend the formation of a new acquaintance; and one has seldom to regret having approached a countryman in this frank, unceremonious style. Our manners in this respect are seldom imitated by foreigners, though they commonly respond to such advances very courteously. The exceptions to this remark are most numerous among the English. The strange boat belonged to two gentlemen of that nation and a German, and all our inquiries this morning did not provoke a word of reply, though one of the gentlemen sat in the door of his cabin in full view, and must have perceived our difficulty in communicating with his rais in the Arabic. This peculiar, and, I must regard it, unami-

able, reserve of our English brethren, is often justified by them on the score of prudence. They are not disposed to admit into sociable relations improper persons, who may afterward prove troublesome acquaintances. There can at least be little danger on that ground in the interior of Africa, and in such interviews as the meeting of two boats for a few minutes will allow.

One is perpetually struck with the different and more hospitable manners of the Arabs, who never pass each other without a profusion of salutations and compliments, couched in the most courteous language, and always expressive of benevolent and pious sentiments. Our crew kept up this interchange of greetings with that of the unsocial Englishmen till we were obliged to interpose in order to procure a little quiet for sleep.

The rais, or some other person, cries, on the meeting of two boats, "Peace be upon you." The most common answer is, "On you be peace." Other forms of salutation are often heard. "God be with you." "May God strengthen you." "May God receive you into paradise." To my taste, nothing could be more beautiful, and no language could be chosen more appropriate for the purpose. How much more grateful to the ears of a friend, or a weary traveller, is such a simple prayer for his happiness, than the meager inquiries and compliments that pass between us on similar occasions? There is no hope of a change of manners in this respect; but I think every person of unsophisticated taste and pious feeling must appreciate the deeper import and more touching influence of the Oriental salutations.

I have already referred to an old Nubian, as one of the most efficient and skilful among our sailors. He is no less versed in all the forms and phrases of Oriental politeness. His shrill voice rings along the river like the sound of a trumpet; and as he is as garrulous as polite, we seldom pass a night without having occasion to call him to order. He

would not deem it civil to allow a boat to pass within half a mile without extending to it some evidence of his good breeding and fine elocution.

In a walk of nearly two hours early this morning, my path was obstructed with coarse grass, and a species of stunted thorn hardly six inches high, which grows spontaneously upon the bank. This waste land reaches farther back from the river than usual, in some places not less than half a mile. A few small patches of dwarf millet, and one of watermelons, which, though apparently ripe, were none of them above three inches in diameter, showed very strikingly the dependance of this soil upon irrigation for its productiveness. Farther from the river the wheat had an unusually fine appearance. The water is conducted from the wheels, which begin to appear more frequently, not on raised mounds as usual, but through gutters cut in the bank to the depth of several feet. It is difficult to conjecture why the fertilizing process is neglected on the verge of the river, where the labour would be so much less. The coarse grass is frequently burned, which gives a dark colour to the surface of the soil. This contains here a large portion of sand, of which a thin layer covers every spot that has ceased to be cultivated. It is brought by the winds from the neighbouring Desert. A still larger portion is probably brought down by the current of the Nile, and having become dry upon the beach and the bare islands which abound along the whole course of the river, is diffused by the constant winds over the adjoining plain. A pretty large mixture of sand with the stiff clay that forms the substratum of the soil, evidently improves it, by rendering it more easy to work, and preventing induration from the sun, one of the greatest inconveniences with which the agriculturist here has to contend. Where the proportion of sand is small, the soil becomes baked as hard as the sun-dried bricks which are made from it, and is quite impracticable for the plough

or hoe. In Middle Egypt and the Delta, where clay predominates, I have walked for miles over fields cleft with deep parallel fissures, which offer serious obstacles to cultivation. These are often crossed by others, dividing the soil into a multitude of triangular, square, and polygonal masses, one or two feet in diameter, and extending to a considerable depth, so as to render walking difficult, and, without care, even hazardous. One of these fields, which nature has paved so curiously and massively in regular mathematical figures, forms no mean subject for philosophical observation.

I have omitted to mention one peculiarity in Egyptian agriculture which contributes a unique and striking feature to the landscape. The inundation, which begins in June and attains its highest elevation in September, gradually declines from October to April. The agriculturist follows the subsidence of the water, sowing his seed upon the portions of land which are successively left bare, beginning with the bank of the river, and advancing with the declining flood towards the edge of the Desert, where the valley is lowest. The first-sown field is, therefore, nearly fit for the sickle before the lower grounds are drained of the superabundant water, and the eye is at once regaled with all the varieties of beauty that intervene between the first shooting of the green blade and the golden luxuriance of the ripening harvest.

All of these successive stages of agriculture and progressive vegetation may sometimes be seen on the slope of the bank next to the river, where the declivity is gentle and of considerable breadth. It is then very favourably situated for agricultural purposes, and often exhibits to the eye of the voyager, in miniature, the verdant stripes of successive tillage, to be seen on a more magnificent scale from the summit of the bank or in a ride across the plain.

At 7 o'clock this evening we met a downward bound boat with the American flag flying at her mizzen-mast, and the English at her stern. Mr. Humphreys, of Boston, an affable

Scotch gentleman, and an English military officer, were on board, with whom we passed an agreeable hour about a mile below the passage of the river through the pass called Hadjar or Jebel Silsily.

The rocks, at this place, which seem not to be above fifty or sixty feet in height, overhang the river, that flows between them with a rapid current, and is about 1700 feet wide. On either shore are extensive quarries of sandstone, from which were drawn the materials of most of the magnificent edifices of ancient Egypt. This narrow passage, which we achieved after dark against a strong current, is said to have been once defended by a chain suspended from the rocks across the river. Hence the name, which signifies "The Rock of the Chain." We sailed a few miles above this point, the breeze continuing a little later than usual, and stopped for the night on the Arabian shore.

February 3. We made very little progress to-day, the wind having early died away, and left us to the laziness and unskilfulness of our crew. The rocks on one side, and the low, sandy shore on the other, impeded the towing. We were often aground, an accident out of which the men generally contrive to make unnecessary delay. They first wait very patiently for the action of the current or the wind to extricate the boat; if these powers prove insufficient, after giving very ample time for their operation, one of the crew, who happens at the moment to be awake, or less oppressed by indolence than the rest, takes up a setting-pole, and makes some effort to get off the boat; some minutes are given to this experiment, as economy of labour is much more studied than economy of time; if, after a fair trial, this attempt proves unsuccessful, a second man comes to the rescue, and, after a like trial, a third and fourth. The rais is always the last man to move, and seldom exerts himself so much as to speak. Yesterday he surprised us all by throwing off his redundant clothing and jumping

overboard to lift at the boat with his shoulder. To this muscular exertion he added that of giving some orders to the men, who seemed as much surprised as we were at this strange exhibition. It was too much for the rais, who, in the course of an hour, began to groan piteously, and crawling away into a nook under the deck, took no farther notice of nautical affairs during the rest of the day. Mr. J., having made some inquiries about his symptoms, administered a dose of Glauber salts, fortified with several pills compounded of ingredients of known potency. The rais swallowed the potion with many contortions of face, and has since announced himself decidedly better. The Arabs are all eager to take physic, and are willing to trust the medical skill of any man in a Frank dress. I was followed yesterday by a man with a long pike in his hand, who had been told by the crew that I was a Hakim. They have acquired sufficient knowledge of English to translate the title familiarly applied to me by my fellow-travellers, into the Arabic word for physician, and the armed applicant for medical advice would not be convinced by my earnest protestations that I am not skilled in the healing art. I hastened on board the boat, which was waiting for me, to escape from his troublesome importunities. He followed to the water's edge, and having been told that we expected to return in a few days, said he would then see me, and introduce me to the sick man who needed my services. I have had similar applications before, arising from the same mistake. It is painful to reject them, especially as I am thought to do it from an unwillingness to afford them the relief which I could do if I chose. I could avoid the difficulty by prescribing some harmless simple dose, that might be useful in the diseases chiefly prevalent among a people of such temperate and primitive habits. I do not, however, feel at liberty to do this, having

an objection to tampering with health, and a still stronger one to the tacit falsehood of passing for a physician.

We made a halt to-day at the ancient Temple of Ombos, which occupies a high bluff on the eastern bank of the river, and on our return, February 6, we also devoted some time to these interesting remains. An ancient town stood on this site, which has long since disappeared under heaps of rubbish and sand. Another city of a more recent era was erected upon these accumulations, which is likewise now a heap of rubbish. Remains of walls, built with sun-dried bricks, are seen at different points, and immediately on the shore below the temple are some masses of brick work, of such extent and solidity as indicate that they belonged to public edifices.

The temple, which is 50 or 60 yards from the river, fronts the west, a circumstance quite peculiar, as all the other temples of Egypt have an eastern aspect. It is doubtful whether this edifice had the usual appendage of a propylon. A massive tower rises from the water on the bank of the river, which has the form of one half of a propylon; it is covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics very well executed, and has been thought to be the remains of a propylon, formerly joined to the temple by intermediate constructions, which have wholly disappeared. It is an objection to this opinion, that the tower is not in a range with the temple, but is many rods higher up the river. An avenue of sphinxes or other connexion must have followed an oblique direction, inconsistent quite with good taste and all that we see of the plans of other temples. It is, perhaps, more rational to conjecture that another temple existed in the rear of the supposed propylon, or, what is equally probable, that this is not the remains of a propylon, but a tower, built for some other purpose of utility or ornament.

The front of the temple consists of a colonnade of three rows of pillars in length and three deep; two of which

on the south side have fallen, and their huge fragments are mostly covered with sand. The standing columns are 20 feet in circumference, and they are buried in sand to more than half their height, which cannot have been less than 35 or 40 feet. The capitals are various: some have the form of the lotus, which seems to be the most common in Egyptian edifices; several of them are beautifully sculptured in imitation of the bending branches of the palm-tree. All the columns are covered with hieroglyphics and various figures, having some reference to the religious uses for which the temple was constructed. The general style of the sculpture is inferior to the specimens found at Luxor and Esneh. The capitals are all painted in stripes of sky blue and pale red, running parallel to the shaft of the pillar. This is at variance with modern taste, but it has an agreeable effect, as do the various forms of the capitals, which are likewise a peculiarity of Egyptian architecture. The colours are still bright, and one is astonished at their almost perfect preservation for so many centuries, especially when it is considered that they have been exposed to the air in an open colonnade.

In the rear of this colonnade is a wall, equal in height to the pillars, through which two high doorways lead into different apartments of the temple. Former travellers speak of three doors in this wall, leading into as many apartments in the rear. There is now no appearance of a third entrance, and the construction of the walls forbids the belief that another ever existed. The apartments of the temple are completely filled with sand, which rises to within two feet of the top of these lofty doors. They were entered from the sides of the temple, as well as in front, through splendid porches, supported each by four columns, that stand buried to the top in sand in the angles formed by the grand portico already described, and the main body of the edifice, which extends eastward at right angles to this splen-

did front, making with it a cross. In this direction the temple is 120 feet in length. The front portico, whose length constitutes the width of the temple, is by our measurement 86 feet. The whole edifice in the rear of the portico is filled with sand, so that it is quite impossible to ascertain its internal arrangements. The part which still rises above the surface is a good deal dilapidated, many of the huge blocks of sandstone that formed its entablature and roof having been thrown from their places; still they retain their form almost perfectly, their angles remaining sharp and their inscriptions exhibiting scarcely any sign of age or decay. A few of the stones employed in the ceiling have fallen in such a position as to admit of being closely and conveniently inspected; they are covered with inscriptions, and beautifully painted in blue and red colours, which retain their freshness so perfectly that they seem recent—the work of last year or last week. The edifice in all its parts is built of masses of hewn sandstone of incredible size. One we measured, which was 23 feet in length by four and three feet in its other dimensions; some, apparently of as great length, are six feet in thickness and width. These enormous stones rest upon the top of the lofty pillars, and are chiselled into a beautiful entablature ornamented with painting.

This temple was dedicated to the worship of the crocodile, which appears sculptured in different places. The principal figure, often repeated in different parts of the temple, and the emblem of the divinity to which it was consecrated, is the body of a man with the head of a hideous crocodile, holding in one hand a sceptre and in the other a shorter instrument, crooked at one end, the symbol of power or divinity. This monstrous figure is four or five feet high, and appears on the walls and columns in many places. Other unnatural combinations abound—a lion with the head of a hawk, &c.

A large heap of hewn stones, some of them finely sculp-

tured, lies immediately south of the tower or supposed propylon, on the bank of the river. They may have belonged to a second side of this gateway, though nothing in the appearance of the site or the fallen stones indicates this.

Eighty yards farther north, and also close to the river, in a range with this tower, is another pile of magnificent ruins. It is said to have belonged to a small temple, and parts of the cella, sculptured and finely painted, as well as many enormous stones lying on the slope of the bank and in the water, also covered with hieroglyphics, favour this opinion. A massive wall extends from this pile to the supposed propylon, resting on the lower part of the bank, and designed for its protection against the current. About midway between these two ancient structures there is a niche or semicircular bend in this wall, through which is a door, opening into a passage parallel with the river and extending towards the small temple. Only a small part of this passage is entire.

I was particularly struck with the imposing front of the principal edifice as seen at a distance. The painting of the broad entablature is even brilliant, as well as of good execution. The columns are peculiarly grand, and also beautifully painted. The site is lofty and commanding. The temple stands midway between the two edifices, on the bank of the river, 50 or 60 yards in the rear of this architectural combination, the effect of which must have been very imposing, especially when seen from the opposite bank of the Nile. The temple was founded by Ptolemy Philometer, as appears from a Greek inscription on the wall.

## CHAPTER XII.

Arrival at the Cataracts.—Syene.—Situation.—Remains.—Saracen Walls and Towers.—Mosque.—Tombs.—Island of Elephantina.—Cultivation.—Ruins.—Roman Bulwark.—Remains of Temple.—Inhabitants.—Visit to the Island of Philæ.—Excessive Heat.—Route.—Nubian Villages and Nubians.—Ornaments and Dress.—Customs.—Language.—Slave Merchants.—Dongola Boat.—Philæ.—River Wall.—Temple of Isis.—Column and Greek Inscription.—Long Colonnade.—Statues.—Propylon.—Sculpture.—Portico.—Apartments.—Splendid Tomb.—Ruins.—Irregular Architecture.—Misguided Zeal.—Aquatic Amusements.—Ticklish Craft.—More Feats in the Water.—The Cataract.—Descent and Ascent of Boats.—Wild Scenery.—Physical Changes.—Singular Forms, Situation, and Composition of the Rocks.—Ancient Quarries.—Sarcophagus.—Immense Obelisk.—Method of Quarrying.—Pentelicus.—Assouan.—Aspect.—Buildings.—Population.—Bazars.—Female Ornament.—Fine Situation.—Scene at the Boat.—Emoluments of Office.

FEBRUARY 4. Assouan. We arrived at the foot of the Cataracts about noon this day. A mount overlooking the town, and occupied by a Turkish or Saracen tomb, formed a striking object as we approached. The river is here divided into several channels by rocks and small islands. We passed the modern town of Assouan on the left, which is nearly concealed by a very extensive grove of palm-trees, stretching along the shore for half a mile, and landed a short distance below the ancient Syene.

To this noble site I paid an early visit. It occupies a high bluff formed by a ridge of granite rock, which here comes to the Nile. I should think the present surface of this field of ruins eighty or one hundred feet higher than the river. It is half as much higher than the present town of Assouan, which encroaches on its northern, or rather western limit. There is a great accumulation of rubbish. The roofless walls of houses, composed of sun-dried bricks, now in a very dilapidated state, are Saracen. They stand above a more ancient city of better materials and workmanship,

which, in some places, is laid open to the view by excavations. The wall of the city, of which there are large remains, is Saracen, and built, like the houses, of sun-dried bricks. It is strengthened with towers of the same materials. On the south side of the town, the wall and some of the towers are constructed of small fragments of red granite, which were brought from the ancient quarries in the immediate vicinity. There are no splendid remains of architecture. Some are said to have been discovered by excavations, but they have been removed or again buried in the sand and rubbish. Nothing is now visible but a ruinous mosque with round arches, and a few Saracen pillars of small size and inferior workmanship, which are scattered among the palm-trees and on the confines of the old and the new town.

Syene has been in all ages the southern limit of Egypt. Under every government, native or foreign, it has possessed great importance as a military post, and a commercial depôt. A plain of considerable extent stretches back to a range of low, desolate mountains, distant from one to two or three miles from the river. This is mostly covered with sand; and only a small tract near the shore is cultivated. Saracen and Arab tombs are scattered over the barren Desert, and glitter in the beams of the sun upon the summits of the mountains. A number of poor people live in the ruinous apartments of the ancient city, many feet below the present surface.

The island of Elephantina is in the Nile, immediately west of old Syene. It has a length of a little more than a quarter of a mile by 200 or 300 yards in width. The north end of the island is alluvial land and under good cultivation, though one sees nothing of the Elysian beauty which books of travel authorize us to expect. A sprinkling of palm-trees, and some small patches of wheat decidedly inferior to that commonly seen on the Nile, cover, perhaps, a third part of

the whole island. The middle and upper parts are occupied by vast mounds of rubbish, formed of the ruins of former habitations and public edifices. Nothing remains entire: not a wall is seen standing above this mountain of brick-bats, broken pottery, and sand.

A massive pile of masonry rises on the bank of the river, not less than sixty or eighty feet in height. It is opposite to a Saracen tower in old Syene, and seems to have been constructed in the time of the Roman dominion, to command the passage of the river, which is here very narrow. More ancient edifices were demolished, and their materials employed in this work; and there are several massive stones in the wall covered with hieroglyphics. Some of them are inverted.

There are slight remains of two edifices, which are known, from the statements of travellers, to have been temples. Magnificent columns were standing a few years since, which have now disappeared. A small part of a cella, richly adorned with painting and hieroglyphics, marks the site of a temple, and fills us with regret for its utter destruction. In the midst of the field of rubbish stands a mutilated statue of red granite. The north end of the island is composed of granite rock, which runs down into the river; it has been wrought as a quarry very extensively.

This island is inhabited by Nubians, who differ greatly, in complexion, features, and language, from the Egyptians on the opposite shore.

February 5. We set off a little after sunrise this morning to visit the cataracts and the island of Philæ. Our voyage by the river has reached its limit southward, and after another day hereabout, we shall set out on our return northward. I congratulate myself that we are so soon to turn our backs upon the sun. The heat is excessive at noon—indeed, all the day, though the night is cool enough. The mercury rises in a few minutes to 130 or 140 degrees,

when exposed to the sun. The crew are engaged in putting away the sail, taking down the mast, &c., preparatory to the downward voyage, which is performed by oars and the strength of the current.

The road to Philæ runs across the Desert east of Syene for two or three miles, when it returns to the river. We passed two Nubian villages. A crowd of people came forth to gaze upon us, while a score of boys and girls, many of them naked, ran after us for a long distance asking for bucksheesh. They pressed their suit with much good-humour, and performed many antic feats to amuse us and coax us into liberality.

The houses of these villages are built of mud like the Arab cottages, and are generally without roofs; a mat only, or a few reeds, are laid on the walls to give shelter for the night. The females whom we saw here, as well as at Elephantina and Philæ, which are inhabited by the same race, wear bracelets of bone or beads upon both wrists; their necks are nearly concealed with strings of large beads of various colours, and of trinkets and small coins; similar ornaments adorn the forehead and brow. Their only dress is a sort of petticoat reaching as high as the armpits, covering the bosom, but leaving the arms and shoulders bare. It is fastened by a strap passing over the left shoulder. Girls not more than 10 or 12 years old, and boys still older, go naked, with the exception of a strip of cloth or leather about the loins. The leather, when that material is used, is cut into a fringe like that sometimes attached to a saddle or harness. The children dispense with even this simple covering.

The women dye the under lip a deeper black than Nature has given to their skin, which is about the hue of our negro race. Their features, however, are not negro, and their hair is straight and of a glossy black; it is platted in a multitude of small tufts, which hang down over the fore-

head and cheeks like a fringe: it shines, and emits a strong odour from being smeared with the rancid butter of the buffalo or goat. The teeth of the Nubian are as white as ivory and beautifully formed. The men are very muscular, and several of them have fine proportions. The females are much disfigured by tattooing, which often nearly covers the face, breast, and arms with unsightly figures. The Nubians have a peculiar language, differing, it is said, essentially from the Arabic. One word, at least, of that ancient language they have adopted, with which they salute the stranger on all occasions. I have nowhere found such perseverance in asking for *bucksheesh*.

Just before reaching the Nubian villages, we passed a small caravan of camels loaded with merchandise; there were two or three persons respectably attired and well armed, besides some soldiers with muskets. These were Turkish merchants going to Sennaar to exchange trinkets for slaves.

On our arrival opposite Philæ we found a Dongola boat of the rudest construction imaginable, in which we made the transit of the Nile. The breadth and length of this primitive craft were nearly the same, and the helm, oars, sails, and entire structure, indicated a state of the arts the lowest and rudest possible. It was large enough to carry a hundred persons, being built, not for a ferry-boat, but for transporting merchandise; and it was filled with huge packages of untanned goat and sheep skins, on their way from the Upper Nile to Cairo. The rais had no objection to deviating a little from his regular pursuits in order to gain a few additional piasters, and readily consented to aid our researches, so far as nautical skill was necessary. Mounting upon the bales of skins, we were soon landed upon the beautiful island of Philæ.

This interesting spot is about 3000 feet in circuit. It is a granite rock, covered with alluvial soil of no great depth.

To protect this from being injured by the river, a wall is carried quite around the island, and substructions still more massive ensure the foundations of the principal edifices against the effects of the current.

The chief of these edifices is a splendid temple on the southern side of the island: its site may be fifty feet above the bed of the Nile. It is approached through an avenue formed by two irregular colonnades, which extend from the river northward about 240 feet, nearly to the propylon of the temple. Ascending the bank of the Nile to the commencement or southernmost extremity of the avenue, the first object of interest is a small sandstone obelisk on the left; it contains a brief Greek inscription, partly unintelligible, which probably records some offering or other deed of one of the Ptolemies, whose name is at the beginning of the inscription. Our guide told us that the granite obelisk, mentioned by travellers, was carried off by Belzoni, but as the inscription said to have been read upon that is now seen upon the sandstone pillar, I presume this is the monument referred to. Close to the obelisk are the substructions of what seems to have been a small temple or chapel, through which the long colonnade was entered. Six columns on the left or west side are standing. As many adorned the east side, with four at each end. In a line parallel with the six standing columns of this edifice, but a few feet farther west, a long row of columns begins, which forms the western side of the avenue; there are 30 in all, which extend nearly to the propylon of the grand temple. In the rear of these and parallel with them is a wall of the same length: a roof of long flat stones rests upon this wall and the columns, forming a covered gallery 10 feet deep. The ceiling, pillars, and wall are covered with hieroglyphics and ornamented with paintings. The opposite side of the avenue commences near the chapel, with the remains of a large chamber, extending 60 feet

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T. Gatherwood. J.F.E. Prudhomme.

ISLAND OF PHILÆ.

(First Cataract of the Nile)

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east by a front of 30, upon the avenue. A vestibule six or seven feet deep projected into the avenue before it. A row of sixteen columns extends from this chamber or cella northward nearly to the propylon, and, with a rear wall and roof, forms a gallery similar to that on the opposite side, except that the pillars are larger, and the ornaments of sculpture and painting are wanting. At the end next the propylon, this avenue is 80 feet wide, but not so much towards the river. It seems to have been built after the completion of the temple, and harmonizes badly with its plan. The eastern row of columns ranges nearly with the centre of the propylon, while the western, continued, would pass by and include the whole temple. There are several windows upon this side, and stairs leading down to the river.

At a small distance in front of the propylon are two red granite sphinxes, much mutilated. Only a single pedestal remains of two granite obelisks, which formerly stood on either hand in front of the entrance. This propylon is 120 feet in length from east to west, nineteen feet thick at the base, and perhaps seventy-five high. The two pyramidal masses are united by the lintel of the door, a huge block of stone covered with sculpture. The propylon is adorned with figures of Isis, twenty feet high, deeply cut on the right and left of the doorway. There are several other figures of similar dimensions; one of a man with a hawk's head is often repeated. A hero of the same colossal stature, crowned with a globe and two serpents, holds his enemies by the hair, and raises an axe on high to slay them. Other colossal figures are near, all excessively stiff and unnatural in their attitudes.

The door, eight feet wide and 20 high, leads into a long quadrangular portico, 72 feet by 64 in length and breadth. On its eastern side is a range of ten columns, having in their rear five chambers, called by the Arabs the Sultan's House. On the west side is a structure, which may be regarded a com-

plete temple of itself, though connected with the larger one. The interior front, or that on the portico, is adorned with a range of seven columns, immediately behind which are three chambers. The western front, which looks towards the river, has a similar range of columns. The south end, next the propylon, has four, in two rows; the north, three. Every part of this portico, the pillars, walls, and chambers, are covered with inscriptions. From this portico we pass, on the north side, through another propylon, smaller than the first, into a splendid room, sixty feet long by forty wide. Ten large columns, arranged on three of its sides, form a noble piazza, which is roofed in the usual way, with immense flat stones, through which the light is admitted abundantly upon this scene of magnificence by a large aperture near the propylon. The columns are beautifully and variously adorned with the lotus and the palm, and exquisitely painted. The ceiling of the piazza is azure, studded with stars. Blue, white, green, and red are the colours employed in painting this room, and they retain a surprising degree of freshness. The sculpture and inscriptions of this part of the temple possess great merit.

The temple proper is entered from the piazza. It contains eleven small but highly finished rooms. In the first chamber on the right, the French savans have recorded, first, their names, then the latitude and longitude, and, lastly, the year according to the republican era. In another place the arrival of the victorious army is recorded.

There are several other chambers upon the second story, and on the flat roof are the mud-wall ruins of a number of Nubian huts. A staircase leads to the top of the smaller propylon. This Temple of Isis is ascribed to the Ptolemies.

Some thirty or forty yards farther east is a graceful quadrangular structure, whose design is unknown, but has been conjectured to be a tomb. It is sixty feet long by forty-five wide, having five columns, of dissimilar forms, on each side,

with two at each end, between which are the two entrances Upon each of the capitals are four courses of stone, perhaps six feet in height, and of the same diameter as the pillars. On these rests the entablature, formed likewise of four courses. The spaces between the columns are walled up two thirds of their height. A few hieroglyphics are seen on the south side only.

There are two or three other large heaps of hewn stone and rubbish, the remains, certainly, of splendid ancient edifices, whose uses are now unknown. The Roman arch, which appears in one of them, denies to it a high antiquity. The freshness and good preservation of the edifices here noticed are truly wonderful. The tomb, especially, has the aspect of a new building. The materials are less massive than those employed in the other Egyptian structures which I have had occasion to examine. The large temple is evidently not the result of one plan, but has been built, a part at a time, in different and perhaps distant ages. Hence the striking want of adaptation in the parts. This defect, however, is much disguised, and nearly lost, in the grandeur of the whole. The entire length of the temple is 440 feet by a little more than 100 in width. The evil taste of Christians or Mohammedans has been busy in defacing the figures of the sacred objects of paganism.

Having taken some refreshment in the shade of this venerable pile, we embarked again upon the cargo of skins, and proceeded to visit the Cataracts of the Nile.

Our donkeys were ordered to meet us a mile below, at a point which we proposed to reach by the boat, in order that we might pass among the rocky islets which occupy this part of the river in many interesting and romantic forms. The rapids do not begin so high as the island of Philæ, but the current is very strong, and bore us along with great celerity.

Our attention was soon attracted to two Nubian boys,

who pursued us in quest of bucksheesh by a species of navigation more simple and rude than our own. They had bound their scanty wardrobe in a bundle upon the top of their heads, and seated themselves astride a stick, perhaps six inches in diameter and five feet long, the forward end a little flattened to diminish the resistance of the water. They used their hands for paddles, and with this ticklish craft outsailed us, and ran across our track at pleasure. Sometimes they sat upright, extending their legs before them close to the log. Then they would lie on it at full length, one behind the other, still moving with undiminished velocity. I felt some concern for their adventure at first, but was soon relieved of my apprehension when I saw the admirable skill with which they retained their difficult position and guided their rolling bark. After amusing themselves and us for a considerable time, and receiving the bucksheesh, they returned to the shore. These boys were hardly more than six years of age.

We resumed our donkeys at the appointed place, and soon reached that part of the shore which is opposite to the principal descent of the cataract. Here we had another specimen of the aquatic skill of this amphibious race. We had no sooner made our appearance than about a dozen young men and well-grown boys, who were upon the beach near us, threw off their clothes, and, running at full speed over the rocks for more than a quarter of a mile, to a bluff overlooking the falls, plunged into the foaming torrent. They were borne along by the current with fearful velocity, tossed on high and buried, alternately, by its fury. They dashed away the waves nobly, raising their hands high out of the water at every stroke. The head was carried very low, with the face apparently in the water, to avoid the greater resistance by the breast. It was a wild and exciting spectacle. The performers were soon ashore, and followed us during the rest of our stay at the cataract, offering their aid

to carry some fragments of granite which we bore in our hands, and begging for bucksheesh.

The Cataract of the Nile, as such, is not worth the trouble of a visit. The current rolls along for two or three miles among rocks and islands with greatly increased velocity, but there is no perpendicular fall. The water dashes against the rocks in the shallower channels, and there is a good deal of eddying and foaming in the deeper parts. A common canoe may descend with safety; though boats cannot ascend by sails or oars, and a very large addition to the number of hands is necessary to drag them up the rapids. There is no path for towing, and the men must swim from rock to rock to obtain suitable positions for pulling at the rope. This has often been described as a scene of exciting and picturesque interest, and I can readily imagine that a hundred naked Arabs and Nubians, perfect strangers to discipline and order, shouting, singing, and quarrelling in shrill chorus, leaping from crag to crag, or plunging into the foaming torrent, would afford excitement enough, and possibly some anxiety to those who had intrusted their comfort and property to such hands.

There is much in the scenery of the cataracts to atone for the want of all that can aspire to be esteemed grand, or even striking, in the fall itself. Several ridges of mountains, composed of granite and basalt, shut in at this point on both sides of the river. They appear once to have formed a barrier quite across the channel, and to have been broken through by the pressure and fury of the waters. The multitude of small islands scattered along the river between Elephantina and Philæ, many of them naked rocks, towering above the stream in a great variety of irregular forms, or composed of huge masses piled one upon another, with their angles rounded and their surfaces smoothed by the action of the water, all tend to favour this supposition. I observed, at an elevation of 50 feet or more above that

usually attained by the yearly inundations, a great number of circular holes or wells of various depths and diameters, which have evidently been formed by the rotary action of stones kept in motion by the current. The several channels have been worn deep into the rock by the constant action of the water, and possibly some great convulsion may have had an important agency in modifying the natural features of this wild scene—in producing the precipitous islets and threatening crags that disturb and overhang the Nile, as it hastens to pour its rich treasures into the lap of Egypt.

The various and singular combinations of the granite, syenite, and basalt, that compose these mountain islets, lend a remarkable and very interesting feature to the scene. Of a mass of rock which attracts observation by its stupendous size, its startling position, or peculiar form, one half may be seen formed of the beautiful rose-coloured syenite which the spectator has admired in the ornaments of the temples of Italy, and the other of the dark polished basalt, which, in the shape of a vase or royal sarcophagus, constitutes the best treasure of a museum of antiques. Sometimes these dissimilar parts are separated by thin strata of white quartz. The surface is of a jet black and the interior red syenite, or the reverse; and the ingredients of which the rock is compounded are found in distinct masses of pink, rose-colour, red, or black, and again compounded in every variety of colours and proportions. Several of the islets are exclusively basalt or trap, whose dark and rugged masses, towering on high and undermined by the floods, give a kind of gloomy and threatening sublimity to the sight. This rock becomes very smooth and slippery from the action of the elements, and its glossy black lustre strongly resembles the skin of the Nubian, shining with the buffalo butter or castor oil with which these people anoint themselves.

We returned from the cataract by the way of the princi-

pal syenite quarries, situated half or three quarters of a mile from old Syene. There are also quarries of this beautiful stone close to the river above the ancient town. Indeed, the entire bank is composed of it, and the facility of loading boats must have given special value to this quarry. Excavations still more extensive are seen in the island of Elephantina, just opposite to Syene, where great quantities of this precious material, quarried and ready for transportation, are scattered on the ground in all directions. Here also is a sarcophagus nearly completed, but not yet detached from its native bed. From this and other appearances, it is evident that the ancient Egyptians wrought the stone into form, and even carried their statuary and other elaborate works far towards completion, before they separated the block from the quarry. Their mode of quarrying seems to have exposed them to fewer casualties and losses than ours.

The most extensive and interesting excavations are those on the north of the ruined city, which I visited this afternoon. The stone appears of the same colour and general character as in the other localities; but it is, probably, more solid and uniform, and more free from veins and fissures, that would render it unfit for purposes requiring large masses. The most, if not all, of the obelisks now seen in Egypt and Italy were certainly obtained here. One enormous shaft, wrought into this beautiful form, and nearly finished, still lies in the quarry, a few feet removed from its native bed. Both ends, and a large part of its thickness, are buried in sand, but a length of eighty-seven feet is still exposed. The upper side measures ten feet across. Three of the sides are hewn though not polished, and all, no doubt, are of the same width. This is much larger than any of the obelisks existing elsewhere; and its immense weight, surpassing the mechanical skill and power of those who began this stupendous work, may have been the cause of its being left incomplete.

Several places are seen in this quarry from whence ob-

elisks or very long pillars were taken, and the processes of quarrying, in all their stages, are exhibited. A series of oblong mortices was made in the stone, each about four inches deep by three or four long and two wide—their direction and number being adapted to the form and dimensions of the mass desired. The fissure was then made by forcing wedges of wood into the mortices. I often had occasion to admire the precision and extent of the fissures made by these simple means. The method was more tedious than ours, but more scientific and effective. It was also more economical where the quarry was of any value, as the waste was inconsiderable. Gunpowder has lately been employed in the ancient quarries of Pentelicus, in Attica; and more waste has been committed in getting marble for the first story of King Otho's palace than resulted from the quarrying of all the generations of ancient Grecians. So great is this havoc that it will soon be necessary to abandon the quarry, from which all the classic structures of Athens were drawn, and to begin anew in some other part of the mountain. The expense of removing fragments and obstructions, and of penetrating to veins of solid pure marble, will, probably, exceed what has been saved by the adoption of this more expeditious but destructive process.

Every traveller expresses his high admiration of the fresh appearance of the Syenite quarries. The same thing is observed of the sandstone quarries of Hadjar Silsily. The breakage and chips made by the workman lie where they fell, around the block upon which he was last employed. The marks of the chisel seem recent, and there is nothing to induce the suspicion that thousands of years have elapsed since the last stroke of his hammer was heard. One would conclude that the labourer had only departed for a journey or a holyday. One winter, or one autumnal storm, would produce greater changes in America. Here rains and frosts are unknown, and sand, the only invader, does not destroy:

it preserves what it inters, and defaces nothing which it leaves uncovered to our observation.

On our return from the quarries we made a detour to visit the town of Assouan, having determined to begin our homeward voyage at sunset. I had walked into the town before, but I now rode through the bazar and all the principal streets. The style of building is Egyptian, such as I have often described, yet the general appearance is more respectable than usual. The bazar is badly furnished. All the wares of a shop are contained in a basket or two, or hang upon a line. More commonly there is no shop, the merchandise being deposited by the side of the seller on a mat in the street. My donkey had barely room to pass between two long rows of these cross-legged merchants who thus exhibited in the open air nearly all that was for sale in Assouan. I saw fewer signs of poverty and rather less filth than appear in most Egyptian towns.

There are three mosques, and from the extent of the town, I conjecture it may contain 4000 or 5000 inhabitants. There is no means of ascertaining population in this country. If you ask the inhabitants, one tells you 500, another 5000. Neither knows better than yourself—perhaps not so well. No book of statistics is at hand to satisfy your inquiries, and you have only to ride through the length and breadth of the town, or to mount to the top of an eminence that overlooks it, and then guess at the number of people who are likely to occupy so many mud-houses.

I met a woman here having a large ring suspended from one side of the nose, which was perforated for the purpose. I have observed this disgusting and unnatural custom in only one other instance.

Assouan is, from its position on the frontier of Egypt, a place of great importance, and though at present unfortified, is capable, from its high situation upon the declivity of a hill overlooking the Nile, of being made a good military posi-

tion. The inhabitants are a mixture of Arabs and Nubians and of Turks, who are generally officers of the government. Here are also a small number of Copts. The people of all these several races are of a darker complexion than the same classes in Middle and Lower Egypt. Assouan has an air of comfort and good taste which distinguishes it from most other small towns in this country, though it might be difficult to state precisely to what it is indebted for this distinction. Its site is commanding—some relief from the monotony of the interminable valley to which we have so long been confined, and, in addition to the extensive groves of palm-trees outside of the town, several small gardens and little clusters of trees are seen within. A few of the houses, too, are more ample in their dimensions and more respectable in their general appearance than are seen in the villages below. There is but little arable land about Assouan. Bread-stuff is mostly brought from below.

This day had been full of occupation and agreeable excitement. A scene less pleasant, but still curious and interesting, because characteristic of the manners and habits of this people, was preparing for us against our return to the boat. We are accustomed to leave everything in the charge of our Coptic dragoman John; and so little reason have we had for distrust, that we have seldom turned a key—clothes, books, and even money, being left with no other security than such as they may find in his fidelity. Our Arab crew we have the best possible reason to believe false and dishonest. To-day John met with a tempter in the servant of a baker with whom he had been negotiating supplies for our return voyage. Grateful for his patronage, or under the influence of some baser sentiment, this man had contrived to make our faithful servant drunk. We found him barely able to stand, and quite bereft of all capacity to perform his usual duties. A drunken man is a rare spectacle in Egypt. Intoxicating drink is prohibited to Mussulmen, and whatever

may be the fate of other precepts of the Koran, this, among the common people at least, seems to be pretty well observed. The climate, too, favours temperance, and our Christian dragoman is the only man I have seen intoxicated in this country. Of course this was an event of some moment, and the rumour soon brought a crowd from the town, less than half a mile distant, to witness the disgrace of the hated Nazarene. Some were evidently drawn to the spot by more selfish motives, and we found that John had been buying of their merchandise pretty freely, without discretion or economy. The venders of all sorts of trifles were crowded about the boat. Baskets, mats, Nubian shields, barbed spears, chickens, corbashes, articles of Nubian dress, knives, ostrich eggs, antiques, &c., had been transferred from the bazars to find vent in the expanded liberality of our unfortunate servant. The crowd, on our arrival, may have consisted of one or two hundred persons. Hard words and angry feelings had risen. We found John hot with wrath at some insult, and he leaped from the boat to inflict chastisement on the real or supposed offender. The crowd shrunk back at his approach, and he pitched headlong into the sand. The sailors brought him on board, and with much difficulty we got him into the hole; but he soon sprung out again, incessantly declaring that he would be avenged. The scene of tumult and confusion was indescribable. The Arabs fell to fighting among themselves. One woman wept, declaring that John had bought her trinkets without paying for them, and a dozen more volunteered to aid her in making good her claim. In the mean time, several were engaged in stealing the bread, which, to increase our difficulties, was just then brought to us by the baker. I detected one woman with at least a peck of biscuits in her skirt, and another succeeded in carrying away a basketful before our eyes. Every one seemed intent upon increasing the confusion and profiting by it. We several times drove them

away from the boat by violence, but they immediately returned. The captain of the port, one of the pacha's officers, occasionally interfered, with his long Nubian spear, under pretext of restoring order, but in effect to increase the uproar. On our departure, which we were anxious to hasten, he asked us to pay him a fee of twenty paras, about two and a half cents.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

Return Voyage.—Agreeable Anticipations.—Reflections.—Downward Navigation of the Nile.—Nile Boat.—The Crew.—Sailor Absent.—Delay.—Negotiations.—A happy Prisoner.—Knavery.—Fine View of the Temple of Ombos.—Hadjar Silsily.—Sandstone Quarries.—Their Form and great Extent.—Processes of Quarrying.—Towering Walls.—Stairs.—Christians.—Curious Fact.—Grottoes.—Antiquity.—View of the Quarries.—Edfou.—Limekilns.—Dogs.—Boys.—Funeral Dance.—Music.—Temple of Edfou.—Splendid Propylon.—Present Uses of the Temple.—Fine Colonnade.—Inscriptions.—Accumulations.—Aërial Village.—Descent into the Temple.—Dimensions.—Base Idolatry.—The Town.—Houses.—Ruins of Apollinopolis Magna.—A Mutiny Quelled.—El Kab.—Ancient Town.—Brick Walls.—Their Entireness and Antiquity.—The Grottoes of Eilithya.—Tombs.—Inscriptions and Representations.—Agricultural and Domestic Scenes.—Ancient Manners.—Musical Instruments.—Other Views.—Rude Sculpture.—Ruined Temple.—Skepticism.—The Fate of Pharaoh.—Second Visit to Esneh.—The Zodiac.—African Wind.—A hot Day.—Return to Thebes.—Frank Boats.—A Frank.

By sunset we were floating with the current down the Nile. We had reached the extreme limit of Egypt, and spent an interesting day in admiring the splendid monuments of a civilization long since extinct beyond its confines. And now our faces were turned towards the abodes, still far distant, of cultivated, Christian man. We had yet much to do and to see in Egypt; but we had become pretty well acquainted with the field of our coming labours,

which was all before us, and every step in our future progress would bring us nearer to objects that exercise a more commanding influence over the soul, than all the achievements of genius, hallowed by the associations of antiquity. By those who have not known what it is to perform a three years' pilgrimage in foreign lands, broken in health and burdened with a wounded spirit, this may be thought an inadequate occasion for indulging in sentiment. I confess, however, that my bosom was filled with strong emotions when I turned my back upon what, I trust, will prove the goal of my protracted wanderings, and commenced a voyage, which I hope to prosecute, with only brief detours and interruptions, till I once more find myself in the midst of scenes and associations, made doubly dear by all I have seen and suffered abroad. I thought, with intense and renovated interest, of many valued friends and beloved relatives, whose forms, though many thousands of miles away, seemed to pass before my eyes. I thought of the churches of America, of their prosperity, their unfettered liberty, their pure doctrines, their evangelical piety, and, above all, of their hallowed Sabbath privileges and enjoyments. I contrasted the educated, virtuous, independent, well-fed, well-clad, and happy people of the United States, with the vicious, degraded beings with whom I had been for months surrounded, and I exulted at the thought of what Christianity and liberty have done for my country. To these delightful scenes, if God succeed my purposes, I am now returning, prepared to appreciate them highly and relish them keenly—it may be, with health so improved that I shall again act some humble but useful part in holy enterprises, to which I certainly never felt a more entire devotion. I gratefully acknowledge and record the Divine mercy and protection, which have constantly been with me. I am thankful for the valuable opportunities afforded by travel, though, perhaps, too sensible of the inconveniences—chiefly

of the moral and social privations it imposes. Quite unexpectedly I have been enabled to bear a great deal of fatigue since I first landed in Greece. I have seen much, and carefully examined the various objects of interest within the range of my excursions; and I have enjoyed the indescribable gratification of being able to use my pen, and make a pretty full and regular journal of what has passed—a privilege of which I have been so totally deprived, that for the three previous years I did not write so much as ten or twenty of these pages. If, in addition to these efforts, I have not been able to carry on an extensive course of reading, this circumstance has left me more inducements to make careful observations of my own. In the mean time, my health has continued to improve with changes of climate and under degrees of heat to which I have exposed myself with much anxiety. I have much reason, then, to commence my return northward with encouraging hopes, and, above all, with lively gratitude to my great Benefactor.

Our attention in descending the river will be chiefly occupied with antiquities. This was thought a better arrangement than to stop to examine everything in ascending. The wind at this season of the year commonly blows from the north during the day, and dies away at night, when little or no progress can be made in stemming the opposition of the stream. The day, therefore, ought to be devoted to the voyage. In returning northward, little advancement can be made by daylight against a head wind, which commonly springs up by nine or ten o'clock. This affords a favourable opportunity for visiting the shore, without materially delaying the voyage; and at night, when nothing can be done in this way, the boat is borne along, two miles or more an hour, by the current, and with the additional aid of the oars the speed may be increased to four miles. The wind is so generally unfavourable in descending, that exclusive dependance is placed on the current and oars. Our sail now

serves as a bed for the sailors, and the long spar to which it was attached is suspended above our heads, secured by lashings to the foremast and the roof of the cabin.

The rigging of the Nile boats is very simple and effective. They have commonly two immense sails, of triangular shape. Ours has but one. Its longest side, which may be fifty or sixty feet, is attached to a light spar, suspended upon the top of a mast, fifteen feet high, by a pulley. This gives it sufficient play, and allows of the trimming and changing which the sinuosities of the river or the variations of the wind may require. Simple as is this primitive contrivance for propelling the boat, its proper management often surpassed the skill and energy of our men, and a good wind always brought with it some anxiety for the additional casualties to which we were exposed. This source of uneasiness is now at an end, and though the indolence of our Arabs remains the same, their duties are simplified to a scale more commensurate with the degree of vigilance and skill which they are accustomed to employ. When not engaged on shore, we intend to keep four men constantly at the oar. We took in an additional hand at Assouan, having now ten in all, who, by proper alternations, may, upon this plan, avoid excessive fatigue, more especially as we expect to devote a large part of the daylight to examinations on the shore.

Whenever our men enjoy a respite from work, and, still more, if it is accompanied by a gratuity in money or provisions, they do not fail to concoct some plan to impose upon us and embarrass our future movements. They were idle two days in Assouan, and we gratified them with so liberal a bucksheesh, that the rais laid his hand upon his heart with infinite grace, kissed my hand, and pronounced upon me a Mohammedan blessing. One of the sailors had, in the mean time, obtained our permission to visit his family, which lives in the neighbourhood. We directed him to return to

the boat by noon, but were compelled to set out without him at sunset. He had promised the rais to come on board on our arrival at his village, which was only a few miles below Assouan, on the bank of the river. When we reached there after dark, a woman appeared on the shore, and, with much apparent concern, announced to us that our Nubian had been arrested for arrears of taxes due to the pacha. He was our pilot, and could not well be spared. Mr. June, whose knowledge of the language and character of the people, not less than his energy and obliging disposition, impose upon him the adjustment of all difficulties, set off, well armed and guided by a lantern, to see what could be done for the relief of the prisoner. The village proved to be nearly three miles from our boat—no trifling walk over corn-fields in a moonless night. Mr. J. found the sailor enjoying the two luxuries dearest to a man of the Orient—the repose of sitting cross-legged upon the ground and a pipe. A ragged Arab, who honoured himself with a sounding title which means a scribe or other low functionary, claimed to have the happy Nubian in custody, and consented to permit him still to guide our barge provided we would pay thirty piasters for the benefit of Mohammed Ali's treasury. This was refused. The sailors who had attended Mr. J. begged him to advance the money, which they would repay on returning to the boat; but, as they had more than a week before declared that their money was gone, this proposal did not take. The official then offered to receive their written promise to pay the debt on their next voyage; but when they seemed ready to agree to this he retracted the offer, returning to the terms which he had proposed at first, and making the enlargement of the prisoner depend upon Mr. J.'s compliance. These negotiations were carried on in the midst of the tumult and astounding uproar with which the Arabs always contrive to dignify a transaction in which money is at stake. After some farther

efforts, Mr. J. returned to the boat, the detenu and his keeper following just behind, and immediately ordered the men to recommence the voyage. This they refused, and the rais, who had not yet taken the trouble to use his influence in the affair, stepped on shore. The sailors were then compelled to put off, leaving pilot and rais behind. This speedily put an end to the difficulty, and, with the consent of the official or in spite of him, they followed at a quick step along the shore, and asked to be received on board. We did not inquire how they had so soon adjusted the matter, but had no doubt that it was a knavish conspiracy to levy a petty contribution. The sum was insignificant; but it is intolerable to submit perpetually to barefaced imposition, and the modes are endless by which these people attempt to extort money. I should not omit to mention that the offer of the sailors to raise a contribution for the release of their comrade was put to the test by Mr. J., who urged them to perform their promise as soon as he got on board. They said they had no money, and though they would be glad to rescue their associate from legal durance, it was out of their power.

February 6. We floated during the night with the current, which, aided by some slight assistance from the oars, had, by the rising of the sun, born us back to the ruins of the Temple of Ombos. Our previous visit to this noble monument did not impair the interest of a second examination. It appears to great advantage in descending the river, and is seen at the distance of many miles, the site being elevated fifty or sixty feet above the adjacent plain. The fine colonnade which forms the front of the temple produces its full effect upon the spectator approaching it in this direction. This splendid cluster of pillars, adorned with various and beautiful sculpture, and surmounted by a magnificent entablature, is certainly the most imposing I have yet seen in Egypt.

From Ombos, where we stopped for a short time, at a very early hour in the morning, we proceeded to the quarries of Hadjar Silsily, a distance of perhaps twenty miles. The extreme heat rendered our examination of this interesting locality disagreeable and fatiguing. The mountains which separate the valley of the Nile from the Arabian and Libyan Deserts on the east and west, here approach each other so nearly as only to leave room for the passage of the river between them, a passage which seems to have been opened, at first, by the floods, or by some great convulsion. The rocks rise precipitously on either bank to the height of perhaps sixty feet. At a small distance above and below this point the slope is more gentle, and affords a good landing for boats. The mountain rises immediately from the top of the bank, and it seems that the great facility thus afforded for removing the stone from its native bed to the boats without any land-carriage, and for its transportation on the river, was the peculiar recommendation of these quarries. The mountain is composed of sandstone of a light gray colour, easily wrought, but compact and very durable. It is apparently of the same quality as that found in other parts of this range of mountains.

The principal excavations are on the eastern side of the river, and from these were taken the immense masses employed in constructing the temples of Upper Egypt. Some quarries were wrought at an elevation not much above the river at high water; others are nearer to the summit of the mountain, which, for an extent of several miles, is cut into yawning chasms and high, threatening precipices, that, in their dimensions and variety of forms, mimic the sublime workmanship of Nature. As the stone immediately on the bank of the river was porous, and less adapted to architectural purposes, passages were cut through these useless masses into the heart of the mountain. I did not measure these avenues, but am sure that several of them are nearly

half a mile in length by fifty or sixty feet wide and eighty deep. Their sides are perpendicular or overhanging. These are the only approaches to the quarries, in which they terminate, and which extend in various directions into the bowels of the mountain, constituting an immense labyrinth of excavations. Few subterraneous caverns were made. I saw none of any considerable extent. The sides of the excavations are perpendicular, and exhibit in every part the marks of the chisel. The stone is not stratified, so that every separate mass had to be cut, not split out of its bed. The softness of the rock rendered this an easy operation. Many large masses remain as they were left by the workmen, nearly separated from the mountain, and all the processes of quarrying are plainly exhibited. No use seems to have been made of wedges, as in the granite quarries of Syene. The form of the block was marked upon the surface, and a channel five or six inches wide was cut on each side of it to the depth desired. By a similar process, the base, now the only part attached to the quarry, was undermined and disengaged from the parent rock. The same tedious process was applied to the subdivision of the larger masses.

In many places, walls have been left dividing the immense area of the quarry into several apartments. Some of these massive partitions are a hundred feet in height by a thickness of not more than three or four feet. The bases appear too narrow for their towering height, and one feels an instinctive apprehension of danger as he gazes from below upon their threatening summits. These perpendicular walls are indented in many places with incisions made in the face of the rock, of a size barely sufficient to receive the foot, by which the daring workman clambered to the top, as it would seem, with no little risk of life. More elaborate stairs appear only in a few places.

A multitude of names and inscriptions are seen in various parts of these interesting quarries, and some of them at such

giddy heights as leave us to wonder how the aspirant after immortality contrived to ascend and get foothold on the smooth sides of the towering cliffs. Some of the inscriptions, which, however, did not meet my eye, purport to have been made by the ancient Greeks. These quarries have no doubt given shelter and security to persecuted Christians. The cross is painted on the walls in different places, and holes for the support of beams and rafters show where roofs have been erected for human habitations, or perhaps churches.

Near the base of one of these perpendicular walls, at least a hundred feet in height, a part of a petrified tree is imbedded. The grain of the wood and a large knot appear very distinctly.

The quarries on the western side of the river are inferior in extent to those on the east. Many of them are converted into tombs, and one has evidently been used both as a heathen temple and a Christian church. A number of defaced statues that occupy its northern end, as well as the figures sculptured upon the interior wall, identify it with the worship of Egyptian deities, while the figure of the cross and some Greek inscriptions leave no doubt of its subsequent conversion to the use of the professors of a pure religion.

Several grottoes and corridors, adorned with columns cut in the face of the rock, and with hieroglyphic inscriptions which have an appearance of great antiquity, extend along the bank of the river. In one of them a battle scene is represented, and the hero, in his chariot, chases his flying foes, with his bow bent for their slaughter. A procession of martial chieftains, soldiers, and captives, is also represented with much nature and spirit. Some of the inscriptions are very ancient, and belong to an epoch as early as B.C. 1350.*

It is worth while to ascend the side of the mountain above the range of grottoes near the bank, in order to obtain a view of the quarries on the other side of the river,

* See Wilkinson's Thebes.

which I have just described. Their great number and extent are here seen to good advantage, and the admiring spectator is led to inquire how and where such immense masses of stone, whose removal has nearly demolished a large mountain, can have been used, just as, when gazing upon the stupendous edifices of the ancient Egyptians, he wonders where their ponderous material can have been found, and how removed to their present situation.

February 7. We descended the river from the quarries to Edfou, during the night, and early in the morning visited the ancient temple, which is situated about a mile and a half from the shore. We walked this distance through fields of wheat. Near the river are a number of limekilns, built up to the height of five or six feet, with sun-dried bricks. The fuel employed is the stalk or straw of the doura, resembling our cornstalks. Material for the manufacture of lime is commonly obtained in Egypt by demolishing tombs or other ancient monuments. This is less excusable, as the mountains always near the river are formed of limestone, which is very easily quarried.

Our approach to the village called out an army of dogs rather more fierce and vociferous than usual. They were soon put to flight by a volley of brickbats, a missile which they hold in peculiar abhorrence. A multitude of naked boys next appeared, and offered their services to guide us to the temple; but as it was not more than 200 yards distant, and in full view, we declined their aid as well as we were able. They were not, however, to be put off so easily, but kept close to us during our stay in Edfou, doing the usual honours of thronging every door and passage through which we wished to pass, and raising a cloud of dust before us wherever we went, and, in the end, begging for bucksheesh. Guides are the worst of nuisances in all countries where curiosities are to be seen; and the Arabs are not less numerous, importunate, or impertinent, than the

same class of functionaries in Naples or Rome; but they are rather more filthy, and always covered with vermin.

On entering the village, our attention was attracted by a group of twenty or thirty females, uttering doleful cries, and performing a sort of dance to a shrill and disagreeable music. Three of them were seated on the ground, one beating a large drum with the open hand, a second making a noise on a sort of shield covered with the untanned skin of a sheep or goat, while a third discoursed music with a rudely-constructed stringed instrument. The strains were plaintive and melancholy. The rest danced in a long vaulting step, following each other in a circle around the musicians. They were dressed in loose, tattered robes, in the usual style of the female peasantry. They threw their hands and arms around and aloft in the wildest manner, and brandished long, slender spears, all accompanying the music with loud and piteous cries. The number of performers increased during our stay, and a few women and girls seated themselves on the ground as spectators, though no men approached or gave any heed to the performance. We halted at a short distance to observe this singular exhibition, which seemed at first to increase their excitement and the velocity of their wild gyrations. In a short time, however, one of the dancers sprung forward and snatched the instruments of music from the hands of the women seated within the circle, which in an instant put an end to the performance, and the parties approached and asked us for bucksheesh. We learned, on inquiry, that a person had recently died in the house before which this singular funeral ceremony was performed by the female relatives. We proceeded towards the temple, and soon heard behind us a renewal of this melancholy dirge.

The Temple of Edfou is inferior in size to several of the sacred edifices of Egypt; but it is in excellent preservation and very complete. The propylon, which is the most per-

fect sample of this peculiarity of Egyptian architecture that I have seen, faces the south, and is 206 feet long by a height of about 100. The accumulation of rubbish about its base prevents accurate measurement. It is formed of two massive towers, one on either side of the entrance, contracting towards the top, where each has the length of 83 feet by a width of 20. The entrance is 30 feet high by 17 wide, and is surmounted by an imposing entablature, beautifully sculptured and painted. The front and rear of the propylon are covered with sculptured figures of gods and heroes, more than twenty feet in length. To this imposing doorway succeeds an open court, 152 feet long by 122 wide. Around the southeast and west sides runs a row of 32 large columns, surmounted by a broad entablature, richly sculptured.

This splendid court is half filled with rubbish, and is used at present for a grain warehouse. In one corner a weaver was plying his art. The web was tied to a stake instead of being wound on a beam. He made a hole in the rubbish to let himself down below the lathe, which moved in a line even with the surface of the ground. I was surprised to find tolerable cloth made by a process so very rude.

About ten feet in the rear of the rows of columns that occupy three sides of the court is the wall of the temple, and a ceiling of long flat stones extends from the wall to the columns, thus forming a noble gallery, covered with sculpture. On the north side of the court, immediately in front of the sanctuary, is a magnificent colonnade of eighteen large columns, nearly fifty feet high by nineteen in circumference. We measured one capital which was 37 feet in circumference. I have seldom seen anything in architecture produce a nobler effect than this grand piazza. The workmanship of the columns is exquisite, the capitals are beautifully painted, and their great size and rich variety excite the admiration and gratify taste. The sculpture is well preserved, as well

as of the finest execution. The doorway which led into the interior of the temple is magnificent in its proportions and ornaments of sculpture and painting. These sumptuous courts and colonnades were only the outworks and decorations of the sacred places where the mysterious rites of the basest of all idolatries were performed. This most sacred portion of the edifice answered in magnitude and sumptuousness to these approaches, being 165 feet in length by 105 in breadth. Its massive walls are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics, in perfect preservation, and I observed only a single stone displaced from the deep cornice with which they are adorned.

The interior, which, no doubt, harmonizes with so much external magnificence, is filled to the ceiling with rubbish. The roof is covered with a village of mud huts, occupied by 200 or 300 people, and forming a filthy labyrinth of lanes and ruins. The access to these aerial residences is easy, the rubbish on the side next the town rising quite to the top of the temple, which is not less, I presume, than sixty feet in height. A deep path has been worn in to the elegant cornice by the feet of mules and goats, which also have their dwelling-places above the spacious chambers of the sacred edifice.

We were shown a hole in what seemed to be the cellar of a foul, dark hut, which leads down through the roof of the temple into its buried apartments. It was hardly large enough to admit a man to pass. I entered with my fellow-travellers; but, upon finding that the exploration must be made by crawling through dark, choked passages, too low to even admit of advancing upon the hands and knees, and feeling the air to be foul and suffocating, I retreated through the aperture by which I had descended, content to wait the report of those more adventurous. They succeeded in finding a large room with a beautifully ornamented ceiling, which, with a part of some fine capitals, was all that remained above the accumulations.

The entire length of the Temple of Edfou is 423 feet by a breadth of 206. Its sculptures abound even more than usual with the grotesque and fantastic combinations to which the base mythology of Egypt gave rise. The heads of many sorts of beasts, birds, serpents, and amphibious things, were placed upon the human body, to be worshipped as deities by the people who reared this sumptuous fane to so ignominious an idolatry. I observed hogs sculptured upon the walls, which was the first time I had seen these animals in company with the jackals, lizards, crocodiles, &c., that formed the ornaments and divinities of noble temples, which, if structures made with hands can be, were fit places for the worship of the true God. The Temple of Edfou is ascribed to the earlier Ptolemies.

The village of Edfou, of which I had a good view from the propylon, may contain 2000 inhabitants. It has one mosque. Three fourths of the houses have roofs of doura straw, or merely a mat spread upon branches of the palm-tree. A mountain of rubbish on the west rises higher than the minaret of the mosque, and covers ten times as much ground as the modern village. It is the site of the ancient city of Apollinopolis Magna. A few fragments of red granite and parts of columns appear, memorials of the opulence and civilization which once chose this beautiful spot for their habitation. Edfou is nearly in the centre of a fruitful plain, fifteen or twenty miles in diameter, environed by picturesque mountains. The Nile winds through the lovely vale, diffusing, from age to age, a fertility and beauty that half conceal, in their gorgeous mantle of corn-fields and graceful palm-trees, the disgusting scenes with which a barbarous people deform this charming landscape.

We are never long without something disagreeable with our rais, who, I believe, is justly chargeable with all the misconduct of the crew. Two English gentlemen had been of our party in our visit to the temple, and their boat

was moored a few rods below ours. We had completed our examinations, and were ready to sail before 10 A.M. Their objects led them to more minute examinations, upon which they proposed to spend the whole day, and to prosecute their voyage at night. Our worthless rais conceived that it would be more pleasant to travel in company, and told us, when directed to unmoor, that he had concluded to wait for the other boat. This was to lose a whole day, a thing not to be thought of, and he was ordered to proceed without delay. He refused to move, and on being urged and threatened in case of persisting in his stupid and unreasonable course, he seized his supernumerary clothes and jumped out of the boat, declaring he would no longer serve such bad masters. The men, instigated by a villanous old Nubian, who has much influence over them, followed, leaving us nearly alone. There was no magistrate near, and our haste did not admit of the delay of even Turkish justice, which settles grave questions in as little time as will serve to arraign the culprit and administer the bastinado. My fellow-travellers followed the rais, with such instruments of terror as were at hand. He had deliberately seated himself in the midst of the people of the other boat and of his own sailors, and was complaining loudly of oppression and announcing bold purposes, when his pursuers came up, and ordered him to return instantly to his work, under penalty of a sound flogging. He reluctantly obeyed, and by the end of half an hour we were moving down the stream. The men, who at first took part with the rais, soon became loud in his condemnation. One knows not which to dislike most, the villany, the cowardice, or base hypocrisy of these people.

Five hours more brought us to El Kab, which is the modern Eilethya. The grottoes of Eilethya were the principal objects that drew us from our boat. We landed in the ancient town, which is a mass of ruins situated upon a bluff

close to the river. What is most worthy of attention here is the good preservation of the walls of this town. They are built of sun-burned bricks, about sixteen inches long by six wide and four thick. Their extent is less than a mile on each side; the height twenty-five feet by nearly the same thickness. In some places this wall is in a ruinous state, but a large portion of it is standing almost entire. The bricks retain their shape perfectly, the angles being as sharp as when they proceeded from the mould. They are extremely friable, a slight stroke of a stick or a fall from a small elevation being sufficient to crumble them into a hundred pieces. This wall, constructed of materials so very frail, is assigned by antiquaries to an early epoch, and the size and form of the bricks, as well as the character of the ruins, require that this work should be attributed to the ancient Egyptians. Some travellers, judging only by the good preservation of the walls, have concluded that they cannot lay claim to a high antiquity; but there are strong objections to assigning them to a late era. They lack the towers that characterize Saracen fortresses, and their unfitness to resist artillery is proof enough that they have not been constructed since the invention of gunpowder, if, indeed, it could be supposed that history and tradition would have failed to preserve some memorial of an event so recent.

The grottoes of Eilethya, which are the tombs of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, are excavations made in the western side of the mountain, about a mile from the ruined town. They possess the marks of a very high antiquity. In their dimensions these tombs are very inferior to many in different parts of Egypt, the largest of them scarcely exceeding thirty or forty feet in length, by twelve or fifteen in width and height. They are merely chambers excavated horizontally in the side of the mountain, with deep pits for mummies, sunk perpendicularly into the floor. Several of

them have small side-chambers, containing each an abyss for the deposite of embalmed bodies.

But these grottoes derive their chief interest from the sculpture and paintings which cover every part of their walls. They contain representations of scenes in the common life of the early Egyptians, extremely curious in themselves, and highly instructive, from the light which they cast upon customs and pursuits that ancient historians seldom deign to notice.

One of the most interesting of the tombs contains representations of agricultural and domestic employments. A proprietor is walking on a visit of inspection over his estate. He is followed by a servant, who bears a chair, a bottle of water or wine, and a mat designed for his convenience and refreshment. A peasant holds the plough with one hand, and carries in the other a pole to guide and urge on the oxen. The plough is precisely the same clumsy and ill-constructed instrument with that now in use. It has but one handle, and is joined to the yoke by the beam, made very long for the purpose. The oxen are of the most beautiful proportions and form, with noble, spreading horns, quite superior to the present races, which seem to be lineal descendants of the lean kine of Pharaoh. The yoke is shorter than the one now in use. The ploughman is preceded by labourers armed with an implement like a hoe, who break a way for the share through the turf, or, perhaps, the sun-baked clay that covered the fields. The sower, too, goes before the plough, scattering the wheat, which is seen falling in a golden shower. The only object of the ploughing is to cover the grain, as the land has been prepared by the inundation. It is still the custom to sow, in the vale of the Nile, without any previous preparation of the soil, a single ploughing being all the labour bestowed by the peasant on these fertile lands.

In another part of the field the reapers are engaged in

gathering the harvest. They use a hook, resembling a sickle with one third of its length broken off. The grain, which has more of the appearance of doura than of wheat, is cut very high, and bound in huge bundles. A man is seen near by winnowing the grain, and, in an agricultural representation which I observed in another tomb, the sheaves of grain are borne from the field on a sort of barrow carried by two men, which was probably the ancient method. This would indicate great cheapness of labour. Another company of labourers are engaged in pulling flax. They bow very low towards the ground, while the reapers, on the contrary, stand nearly upright. A man holds a small bunch of flax in one hand, which he evens with the other. One has a huge bundle upon his shoulder, which he is carrying from the field. Others are beating off the bolls.

Near by are represented the various processes of the vintage. In another part of the field a man is catching birds with a net, and he conceals himself, for this purpose, behind a bundle of palm branches, green and standing upright. A fisherman stands on the prow of his boat, drawing in a net full of fishes, and just by are the scullions cleaning fish and cutting up fowls, which they throw into an earthen pot to be cooked.

Another part of the tomb is devoted to scenes of more dignity. A gentleman and lady are seated in a fine saloon, and a master of ceremonies, dressed in the spotted skin of a leopard, which hangs down his back quite to the knees, introduces to them several personages, who advance for the purpose. A large company of both sexes are present, seated apart and very formally, in chairs with low backs. Each holds a lotus flower, with a very long stem, in his hand, and a servant is carrying these flowers to the different guests. A tempting collection of meats, fruit, cakes, &c., appears deposited near the host and hostess, destined to supply more substantial refreshment. Several persons with instruments

of music, among them harps with nine strings, occupy an appropriate place. In another tomb a funeral is represented: the weeping widow is near the bier, and the hired mourners follow in a long, disorderly train. On the opposite wall a dignitary is seated in a chariot drawn by a pair of beautiful oxen, with a long train of servants in attendance. Boats are seen in the river, propelled by oars and poles. A large sledge, pressed with an immense burden, is drawn by a multitude of men with strained sinews. One is pouring oil or water from a vase before the car, to diminish friction and facilitate its motion. A dead body is stretched upon a table, and the embalmer is preparing it for interment.

The sculpture and painting employed in these grottoes have no great excellence, a circumstance which goes to establish their high antiquity; yet I have seldom experienced a feeling of interest so absorbing in the midst of the choicest collections of art. I seemed to be introduced to a familiar view of the customs and improvements of the most ancient people of whom we have any knowledge, and I gazed upon these exhibitions of rural life with a degree of satisfaction which I am not accustomed to feel in contemplating the sculptured representations of battles and triumphs.

At the distance of half a mile from these grottoes, and nearer the river, is a small temple in a very ruinous condition. Upon the large blocks of sandstone, now lying in disorder on the ground, are many hieroglyphic inscriptions, which teach that Thotmes III., the Pharaoh with whom Moses negotiated for the release of the Israelites from bondage, was the founder of the temple, and men versed in this kind of lore have concluded that he was buried here. This, like several other discoveries made among the antiquities of Egypt, has been thought to reflect discredit upon the statements of the Bible. "It is the tomb of the Pharaoh

who was buried in the Red Sea," is sometimes said in a sneering tone. I make no pretensions to the sort of learning requisite for the settlement of such questions, but I have had more than one occasion to remark the readiness—I might say eagerness—with which this and some kindred objections against Divine revelation have been credited, accompanied by apparent reluctance to be convinced that they are unfounded. Whatever may have been the end of the impious Pharaoh, the Scriptures do not affirm that he perished with his host in the Red Sea, and their silence on a point of such importance is sufficient evidence, perhaps, that he did not advance into the sea, and thus survived the ruin of his army.

February 8. In pursuance of our plan of voyaging in the night, and devoting the day to sight-seeing, we arrived at Esneh before morning, and made an early visit to the beautiful temple, which is its only attraction. I had seen it in ascending the river, but the light was then so bad that I was unable to obtain a clear view of that portion of the ceiling which is said to contain the signs of the zodiac. I have referred already to the grave deductions drawn by the French savans from the order and position of these mysterious signs. I was gratified this morning with a good view of a part of these debatable figures. Leo, Cancer, Scorpio, and Libra, appear quite distinct, and the colours are peculiarly fresh. The light was not so good upon the rest, and my eyes were too weak to trace them farther.

This was the most oppressive day we had yet experienced on the Nile, though the thermometer has several times indicated greater heat. The south wind has hitherto been cool, though debilitating. To-day it was warm, and produced a prostration, of which those of us who are least susceptible to the influence of such vicissitudes were now quite sensible. As for me, I rise and fall with the mercury—rather, I go down whenever that ascends, and rise

when it declines, and I do not remember to have felt so painfully the terrible power of a sultry day. Our crew, half naked as they are, suffer nothing from heat; and having the prospect of several idle days at Luxor, and of the additional enjoyment of devouring a sheep which hangs temptingly upon the mast, and which we have promised them upon our arrival there, they pulled manfully at the oars.

A little after 8 o'clock in the evening we moored at a short distance from the old Roman pier. We had expected to find several Frank boats here, and hoped to hear the current news from Europe and America. Not a flag was to be seen, though we learned that an English boat, Lord ——'s, was at Gornou. He had preceded us in ascending and descending the Nile. We had no prospect, therefore, of obtaining news from the West, though his lordship's personal adventures in these parts are likely to be mentioned, for a long time to come, as memorabilia.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Sunday.—Present State of the Site of Thebes.—Antiquity of Thebes.—Magnificence of its Ruins.—Difficulty of describing them.—Drawings.—Long Avenue of Sphinxes.—Vestiges.—A Sphinx.—Great Number of other Statues.—Approaches to the Temple of Carnac.—Smaller Temples.—Beautiful Gateway.—Large Propylon.—Temple of Isis.—Dimensions, &c.—Second Approach.—Three fallen Temples.—Statuary.—Propyla and open Courts.—Colossal Statues.—Vandalism.—Third, or Western Approach.—Avenue of Sphinxes.—Immense Propylon.—View of the Ruins.—Geographical Table.—First Court of the Temple.—Side Chapel.—Solitary Column.—Fragments.—Colossi.—Great Portico.—Dimensions and Number of Columns.—Roof.—Windows.—Ornaments.—Ruinous Courts.—Obelisks.—Statuary.—Peculiarity of this Temple.—Truncated Obelisks.—Sanctuary.—Its exquisite Workmanship and Beauty.—Its Freshness.—Excellence of Egyptian Architecture.—Other Apartments of the Temple.—Statues.—Colonnades.—Gateway.—Dimensions and Magnificence.—Grand Combination of Temples.—Walls.—Ancient Habitations.—Profusion of Sculpture.—War Scenes upon the Walls.—Interesting Inscription.—Artificial Lakes.—Antiquity of the Temple of Carnac.—Thebes, west of the Nile.—Village of Gornou.—Sepulchral Dwellings.

MONDAY, February 10. Yesterday was Sunday, and we made it a day of rest, though the privileges of "holy convocation" and public worship were not ours. This morning we went early to visit Carnac. Luxor, which is the harbour, and possesses one splendid monument of antiquity, we had seen with some attention on our ascending voyage. These two villages, which are more than one and a half miles apart, are on the site of Diospolis, as that portion of ancient Thebes was called which was situated upon the Arabian or eastern side of the Nile. Two other villages, Gornou and Medinet Habou, two miles asunder, are on the opposite side of the river, nearer the mountain than the shore. The number of people who now occupy the site of this most ancient of cities can hardly exceed two thousand, about the average population, perhaps, of other parts of the

country. Four fifths of this surface are now covered with corn and pasturage, and nearly every vestige of the structures which once occupied this noble plain has been obliterated by the plough and the inundations. Large masses of ruins and rubbish cover the barren tract which lies between the arable land and the mountain on the western side of the Nile. Similar masses are seen at Luxor, which occupies a bluff upon the east bank of the river. From the lower ground that intervenes between Luxor and Carnac, as well as along the shore northward, all vestiges of the ancient city have disappeared through the same natural and human agencies. At Carnac, again, which occupies the rising ground on the edge of the Desert, are immense mounds. This is a brief topographical view of Thebes as it now is, and such as it has been for nearly two thousand years.

This was certainly one of the first large cities built after the deluge, and the seat of wealth and extended empire, while Greece was yet immersed in complete barbarism. The arts and sciences had here attained to high degrees of perfection long before the era when authentic history begins to make us acquainted with the progress of human affairs, and the civilization which has gradually been diffused over Europe and America had its origin in Thebes, from which it extended to Lower Egypt, to Greece, and the world. Such assertions no longer appear unwarrantable or bold when one has stood among the splendid monuments which have withstood the ravages of 3000 years, and yet claim, in some respects, an undisputed superiority over all the productions of human art and industry. I do not hope that I shall be able to convey, by description, any adequate idea of these venerable and magnificent structures. They differ so widely from the specimens of architecture which belong to other countries and to modern times, that words, however carefully selected, lose their power of imparting clear and accurate ideas, and it would be much easier to

incur the suspicion of exaggerating, or even of misrepresenting, than to communicate to others, through this medium, the impression made by a careful and repeated inspection of the temples of Luxor and Carnac. The drawings of these objects which I have seen have not been much more successful than verbal descriptions, owing, I presume, to the same inherent difficulties in the subjects. The painter can exhibit only colours and forms; as the describer is mostly limited to giving dimensions and details; but both must leave it for the imagination to fill up the immense outline of grandeur with that prodigious affluence of beautiful parts, and proportions, and sumptuous ornaments, which possess a much higher claim upon our admiration.

Of the Temple of Luxor I have spoken on a former occasion. Its imposing front faces that of the Temple of Carnac, which is distant from it nearly two miles, in a direction a little east of north. These sacred edifices were formerly connected by an avenue of sphinxes extending from one to the other, and fifty feet wide. For a quarter of a mile or more next to Carnac they still remain, though in a very mutilated condition, and they may be traced more than half way to Luxor by a multitude of fragments which retain their original position. Some have found traces of them still nearer to Luxor. I discovered none south of the point above indicated, though, as my search was prosecuted by twilight, I cannot rely with confidence upon its results.

These sphinxes are formed of the same kind of sandstone as that employed in building the temples. They are in a couchant posture, seventeen feet long and about ten feet high. The paw of one of them which I measured was twenty inches wide. They face each other, looking directly across the avenue, and each holds between his paws a small human figure, the hands crossed over the breast, and grasping a sort of mace, in form like a cross. This appears perpetually among the figures which adorn the

Egyptian temples, and seems to be a badge of dignity or a symbol of divinity. The distance between the sphinxes of the same row is about ten feet. The whole number upon this avenue when entire was about 1600. Another avenue of sphinxes, of which a large number are still to be seen next the temple, extended from its eastern point to the river opposite to Gornou, about the same distance from Carnac as Luxor. A third connected its north front with some unknown point in that direction. Of these two, a considerable number of sphinxes still remain in their original position. Not less than four thousand of these massive statues adorned the different approaches to this magnificent edifice. They formed the avenues through which individual worshippers and religious processions arrived at the holy precincts. The sphinx, which was composed of the body of a lion joined with the head of a ram, was sacred in the eyes of the Egyptians, and I can conceive of nothing better calculated to inspire the devotee with overwhelming sentiments than an approach to this magnificent temple, under the mild but awful and immovable gaze of this double row of gods, each a visible representation of strength, intelligence, and divinity.

The avenue that led from Luxor terminates in front of a Temple of Isis, which is connected with the grand temple, and distant from it 150 or 200 yards in a southern direction. There are ten or more smaller temples embraced within a circumference of less than two miles, all of which were united with the main edifice by colonnades and other splendid architecture, and formed with it a system of sacred edifices, which might, without exaggeration or impropriety, be regarded as one immense temple.

That of Isis is approached from the avenue of sphinxes through a beautiful gateway, which might be denominated a triumphal arch, from its resemblance to these structures in Rome and elsewhere, but for its square top. This is a defect in strength rather than architectural beauty, as all

must feel who have looked upon the elegant structure under consideration. The ends of this small but graceful propylon, unlike their common pyramidal form, are perpendicular. The whole is covered with well-executed sculpture and hieroglyphics, and adorned with a broad entablature of the most exquisite workmanship and sumptuous decorations. The painting is beautifully executed and in excellent preservation. I think this gateway no way inferior, as a specimen of tasteful architecture, to the triumphal arch of Titus at Rome, or that of Napoleon at Paris.

From this point a double row of sphinxes leads to a propylon immediately in front of the Temple of Isis. This is 104 feet in length by 70 or 80 in height, contracting towards the top like all of these massive but rather ungraceful appendages of the ancient temples. It is covered with figures and hieroglyphics, now much defaced. From the south side of the propylon a stone has been removed, which exposes to view, at the depth of three feet in the wall, a mass covered with sculpture and painting—one proof, among many that exist in these sacred edifices, that they were partly constructed out of the ruins of still more ancient temples. Passing through this gateway towards the front of the Temple of Isis, you have on the left another small building, which joins the first, and is of itself a complete temple, 70 feet in length by 60 in width. It has its dromos, supported by columns and flanked with galleries, and in the rear, its sanctum and private chambers, all parts being covered with hieroglyphics.

The Temple of Isis, to which this is an appendage, and which is itself but an appendage to the great Temple of Ammon, is 203 feet in length by 86 wide. Its dromos, or great court, is 76 feet square, adorned with 27 fine columns. The pronaos or second court is 76 feet long and 30 wide, supported by eight columns. In the rear are many chambers filled with rubbish and a good deal dilapidated. This

edifice has the usual ornaments of sculpture and hieroglyphics. The colonnade or other construction by which it was joined to the main edifice has disappeared.

We now retrace our steps through the gateway above described, and along the avenue of sphinxes for the distance of 300 or 400 yards. At this point another similar avenue diverges from this in a northeast direction, and, after passing along the fronts of three ruined temples, assumes a direction parallel with the other line, and leads under four immense propyla to a second entrance in the southern side of the grand temple.

Of the dilapidated temples which border on this approach to the great fane of Ammon, the first is 60 paces long by 23 wide. It had two massive propyla, one in front, the other in the rear, or, more properly, one at its north, another on its south front. Two mutilated colossal statues of beautiful granite lie prostrate before its main entrance, and the loose blocks of sandstone which cover the site are enriched with sculpture. Proceeding along the avenue of sphinxes, we reach the second temple, at the distance of about fifty yards. It is about equal to the last in its dimensions, and, like it, has two propyla. It was richer in statuary and sculpture. The sphinxes are made of granite, and a row of statues, composed of the body of a woman and the head of a dog or wolf, of black granite beautifully wrought and pol ished, extended all around this temple. Many remain in good preservation, and the whole number must have ex ceeded 100.

In front of this temple the avenue of sphinxes makes an angle, and proceeds northward towards the entrance of the main building. Nearly east of this angle, and at a short distance, are the ruins of a third temple, very similar in size and arrangement to the other two.

We next pass through the four grand propyla which guarded and adorned this most splendid of all the ap

proaches to the abode of the Egyptian Jupiter. They are all of very large but unequal dimensions. One which I measured is more than 200 feet in length by a probable height of 100 above its base, though considerably less above the accumulations by which it is partly buried. The first has its doorway faced with polished syenite. It is also covered with hieroglyphics, and two immense statues of white quartz stand before its northern front. This propylon is separated from the second by an immense quadrangular enclosure, the walls of which are covered with hieroglyphics. On the east side are ruins, which seem to have belonged to a small temple.

The second propylon is much dilapidated; the ends, with their moulding, are yet standing, but the centre is gone.

About 150 feet in advance of this is the third, of similar dimensions and construction; three colossal statues, two of red granite, one of white quartz, lie dishonoured and mutilated on either side of the door. Another quadrangle with sculptured walls intervenes between this and the fourth propylon, which is demolished, the materials having been carried away to be employed for the benefit of the pacha. The work of ruin is going on at the present time.

Through another enclosed court, like those already described, we passed to the grand temple. A large gateway, now so choked with rubbish that I had to stoop low to pass under it, admitted the worshippers into the sacred precincts.

We now proceed to what is believed to have been the principal entrance at the western front, where, after being detained so long in the labyrinth of dilapidated shrines, propyla and sumptuous statuary which overshadowed all of the approaches with such impressive magnificence, we may be permitted to pass the sacred portals and admire the splendours of the interior.

This end of the edifice fronts the Temple of Northern Dair, on the opposite side of the river, and the road be-

tween them is bordered by two parallel rows of sphinxes. This avenue is not so broad as that which leads to Luxor, but it is more thickly planted with sphinxes, the distance between them not exceeding seven feet. It is entire near the temple, but on the lower grounds, towards the Nile, has disappeared before the plough and the annual flood.

Turning our faces towards the temple, we behold the largest propylon in Egypt. Measured upon the surface of the accumulations around its base, it is 350 feet in length by forty thick. Its real length must be nearly or quite 400 feet, and its height one hundred. Seen from the opposite side of the river, it has the appearance of an immense tower, the windows, which were made for the admission of light into the chambers that occupy the whole of its interior, being taken for embrasures. The northern wing is much dilapidated, and the front has neither hieroglyphics nor sculpture, an unusual circumstance in these structures. From the top of this propylon, a commanding view is obtained of all the parts of the temple, and the different approaches to it. No words can convey an adequate idea of the vastness and magnificence of this scene of ruins. Huge blocks of sandstone lie in shapeless piles, in some places nearly eighty feet high, and the eye is bewildered with a tangled forest of colonnades, obelisks, and colossal statues, intersected with half-ruined propyla, and flanked with nodding or prostrate walls. As we advance, however, clambering over heaps of rubbish and fallen materials, and successively view the different parts of this stupendous edifice, the confusion disappears, and we are enabled to comprehend the general plan, as well as to admire the beauty and high finish of its details.

Within the doorway of the grand propylon, and on its southern side, the following inscription appears, made by the French savans who visited Egypt at the period indicated.

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE, ANNO VIII.

*Geographiques Monumens.*

| Temples. | Longitude. | Latitude. |
|---|---|---|
| Dendrea . . . . . | 30° 21′ 00″ | 26° 10′ 00″ |
| Thebes (Carnac, Luxor), | 30° 20′ 04″ | 25° 44′ 15″ |
| Esneh . . . . . | 30° 14′ 19″ | 25° 42′ 55″ |
| Edfou . . . . . | 30° 33′ 04″ | 25° 00′ 00″ |
| Ombos . . . . . | 30° 38′ 39″ | 24° 28′ 00″ |
| Syene . . . . . | 30° 34′ 19″ | 24° 08′ 06″ |
| Philæ . . . . . | 30° 33′ 46″ | 24° 03′ 45″ |

Through this door we enter a large court or dromos, open to the sky, three hundred and twelve feet long by two hundred and sixty-four wide. On the right or southern side of this immense enclosure is a small temple, one of the many embraced in the plan of the grand temple and its approaches. Several of them seem to have been built before the principal edifice; but the genius of the architect has been able to harmonize all the parts of this complicated whole, so that nothing offends the eye, and the taste is gratified by a great number of structures and ornaments, always subordinate to general symmetry, and consistent with the controlling idea. This side temple is eighty feet in length, and the interior is supported by square pillars, before each of which stands a colossal statue, nearly covered with rubbish. In the rear of the columns are the sanctum and private chambers, in the usual way, and all the parts are ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics. A row of seven columns joins this to the grand propylon. Two columns, with a small gateway looking towards the south, which is one of the smaller, perhaps private, entrances of the grand temple, complete the southern side of the great court. The opposite or northern side is bounded by a row of sixteen columns, with chambers, or a gallery, in their rear. This part is much choked with rubbish. Several of the columns are buried above their capitals.

Another immense propylon, three hundred and three feet long by forty-three thick, constitutes the eastern side of this court. The door is twenty-one feet wide by about forty-five in height, ornamented with sculptured figures of gods and heroes of gigantic stature, and beautifully painted.

Two rows of noble columns, with lotus capitals, formerly ran through the centre of the court, between the doorway of the first and that of the second propylon. One only is now standing, whose height we estimated to be about eighty feet. Its circumference is twenty-seven feet. Five others are prostrate on the earth. They are composed of massive frusta of sandstone, which lie in regular order, not a stone missing or displaced, as if some giant or demigod had carefully lowered the immense shaft from its perpendicular position. These columns were only designed for ornament, and seem never to have supported an entablature or other superstructure. They are covered with hieroglyphics and sculpture, but not painted. When all were standing, they must have formed one of the most imposing and magnificent passages in the world. In columns of such large dimensions beauty is often sacrificed to magnitude; but here the eye feels no dissatisfaction of this sort. All the proportions are faultless. The height of the column is so admirably adjusted to its diameter, and the circumference of the capital to that of the shaft, that our strongest feeling, when we gaze on this towering monument, is one of lively admiration of its graceful and perfect symmetry.

Two colossal statues of red granite lie broken and mutilated at the eastern end of this avenue. The foot of one of them is twenty-one inches wide.

We now pass through a magnificent doorway into the grand portico of the temple. Measured within the walls, this apartment is three hundred and twenty feet in length from north to south, and one hundred and sixty wide from east to west. It is the most imposing and sumptuous part

of the edifice, and there is nothing in all that remains of Grecian and Roman architecture, much less is there any modern structure, worthy of comparison with this wonderful colonnade. The original number of columns was one hundred and thirty-four, of which one hundred and seventeen are now standing. The frusta, of which the rest were composed, lie in disorder upon the ground, choking up the passage among the standing columns with their huge masses. Two rows, of six columns each, run through the centre of the portico from west to east, corresponding with the entrances through the propyla by which we have passed thus far on our tour of observation, and to the grand thoroughfare leading through the whole length of the edifice. These are of greater dimensions than the rest. Their circumference is thirty-four feet, while that of the others is twenty-seven. We supposed the height to be not less than eighty feet. They are surmounted by noble blocks, or rather beams of stone, at least twenty feet long by four or five in depth and width, on which rested the roof, composed of immense flat stones. The central part of the roof, resting on four rows of columns, is elevated some fifteen or twenty feet above that which covered the other portions of the portico. This elevation, besides breaking the uniformity and relieving the consequent heaviness of a very long, flat roof, afforded an opportunity for admitting an abundant supply of light into the midst of the colonnade, a circumstance very essential to giving the fullest effect to its magnificent ornaments and architecture.

Immediately under the windows, and in the blaze of light to which they give admission, runs a broad entablature, ornamented with a profusion of beautiful sculpture. Its ample frieze is richly painted in a variety of splendid colours, as fresh and beautiful as a picture of Rubens.

The capitals of this portico are various, according to the Egyptian style. The lotus, the common palm, and that of

the Thebaid, lend their graceful forms to enrich and diversify the incomparable display of taste and magnificence. Every part, the columns, the walls, the massive stones that supported the roof, and the ceiling, is ornamented with sculpture, hieroglyphics, and painting.

This portico is bounded on the east by a propylon, which runs across the temple, three hundred and twenty feet in length. It is in a very dilapidated condition, and rises only a few feet above the rubbish. A passage is still open, leading by a gentle descent to the interior of its southern wing to the distance of nearly thirty feet, where it is stopped with rubbish. Through this propylon we enter a court equalling in length the width of the temple, but only forty feet wide from east to west. It is in a state of complete ruin. Its ornaments are mostly destroyed, removed, or buried under masses of rubbish. One beautiful red granite obelisk, eight feet square, is standing, which has successfully resisted the violence that has spread such havoc around it. Its sculpture and hieroglyphics are in good preservation, and its form perfect. Another similar monument once stood near it, and now lies broken upon the ground. A part seems to have been carried away, and attempts have been made to break up the remainder into such fragments as could be removed. These obelisks are in a range with the sides of the grand entrance towards Luxor. This court seems to have been very magnificent, and the remaining walls are covered with sculpture and hieroglyphics. Its eastern, like its western side, is formed by a propylon, through which we pass into a second long and narrow court of about the same dimensions with the last, which is also in a very ruinous state. The gateway projects into the court beyond the propylon, and two noble obelisks, one 92 feet in height by eight square, stand before it on the right and left. A row of colossal statues extended along the four sides of this court, which are mostly buried by the accumu-

lations. Recent excavations have uncovered some of these fine objects, which are of very elegant workmanship.

It will be observed that this immense edifice has a number of divisions not usually found in Egyptian temples. A dromos, which is often only a double row of statues or sphinxes, but more frequently a court, enclosed with walls and adorned with columns, commonly succeeds the propylon, and is succeeded by another apartment of smaller dimensions, called the pronaos or front temple. Then comes the most holy part of the edifice, the seat of the sacred mysteries, which, with a number of chambers in the rear and on either side of the sanctum, completed the edifice. In the Temple of Carnac the four immense courts already described stretch across the whole width of the edifice. Neither of them answers to the pronaos of other temples. A passage about forty feet wide, bounded on the north and south by ruinous but highly-sculptured walls, leads from the last of these courts into what should perhaps be considered the pronaos. This small apartment is entered between two upright blocks of red granite that may have been the pedestals of statues which no longer appear, or perhaps they were only pillars which formed the doorway. The spaces which extended from this small apartment to the sides of the temple, seem to have been filled up with a great number of chambers, of which the sculptured and painted ruins cover the ground. Just in front of the entrance stand two beautiful red granite columns, or small, truncated obelisks. They are about 20 feet in height, polished, and exquisitely sculptured.

The sanctuary is a long narrow room, fifty feet by fifteen, open at both ends, and divided into two compartments by a partition wall, which extends, however, only a small distance from the side walls, upon the floor, leaving a broad, high doorway, which was, probably, never closed, except, perhaps, by curtains. This sanctuary is entirely construct-

ed of syenite granite, exquisitely polished, sculptured, and painted. The ceiling, which is of an azure colour, is studded with stars. The walls are covered on their exterior, as well as interior sides, with figures and representations, as fresh and perfect as a work of the last year, and wrought with the most perfect finish and delicacy. To guard the sanctity of this beautiful apartment, where the most secret and holy rites were probably performed, and the most costly vessels and images deposited, two outer walls of massive stones were constructed parallel with those of the sanctuary, and forming with them two passages, fifty feet long by ten wide, which, however, have no communication with the holy place for whose security alone they seem to have been constructed. These walls are covered with sculpture. The space between them and the side walls of the temple is occupied with chambers, mostly in a ruinous state.

Nothing in this great temple so filled me with admiration as the finished workmanship and perfect preservation of this sanctuary. No product, however small, of Grecian, Roman, or even Gothic architecture, which has fallen under my observation, has half so much freshness. The fine blocks of red granite possess a peculiar and resplendent lustre, which it is inconceivable they should long retain after their separation from the native mass. The polish is perfectly preserved. The chiselling is deep and clear: the sharpest angles and most delicate lineaments have not suffered the slightest disintegration; and there are portions of the painting so fresh and vivid that nothing can be found to surpass it in the colouring of the Flemish or more modern schools. I lingered around this beautiful structure, reluctant to withdraw my eyes from the contemplation of so much elegance, and again and again I returned to enjoy another view. I came to Egypt expecting to find nothing to admire in its ancient edifices but the massiveness of their material and the vastness of their dimensions. I have

everywhere seen, in combination with these more imposing features of architecture, displays of noble conception, elegant taste, and exquisite skill. In none of these respects would the lovely specimen under consideration suffer by a comparison with the most admired productions of ancient or modern genius.

The sanctuary and the private chambers extending from it quite to the north and south sides of the temple should, upon the usual plan, form the termination of this sacred edifice. The vast idea, however, which presided over the construction of the grand Temple of Carnac demanded a more ample development, and other immense and beautiful erections extend farther to the east. I shall despatch them very briefly.

Before the eastern door of the sanctuary are fragments of colossal statues and other ornaments, of red granite. Through these fallen monuments a passage led into an immense court, three hundred feet long by one hundred and fifty broad. An avenue of statues probably ran through the middle of this court to its eastern side, which is composed of an extensive colonnade. On the north is a range of many chambers; on the south the side wall of the temple. The colonnade on the east, which is one hundred and twenty feet long and thirty-six deep, consists of two rows of large columns, ten in each row, and two rows of square pillars parallel to these, which support the roof. All round this colonnade runs a covered gallery, resting in front upon another row of shorter pillars. Under this gallery was a row of colossal statues, looking out upon the court. The ceiling of the colonnade is azure, bespangled with stars, and under it the great central passage leads to the eastern end of the temple. It is a double row of columns, sixteen in all, crossed at right angles by another avenue, extending towards the northern and southern walls.

Beyond are fragments of statues and obelisks, which

form the passage to the eastern entrance of the sacred enclosure. This passes through the ruins of another temple, of which many columns and considerable portions of the cella remain entire. Beyond is a gateway, similar in form to the one before the Temple of Isis, already described; the sides perpendicular, the proportions chaste and beautiful; but it lacks the decorations of sculpture and painting.

The whole length of the Temple of Carnac is 1188 feet, by three hundred and fifty feet in width. It is unquestionably the most magnificent edifice ever erected on earth for the celebration of the rites of religion. It was worthy, so far as the workmanship of human hands can be worthy, of being devoted to the spiritual worship of Jehovah. Its deities, however, were the basest of created things. The deified forms of beasts and loathsome reptiles adorn its sumptuous courts; and the supreme divinity to which this glorious labyrinth of magnificence was consecrated, met the eye of the worshipper along all the avenues by which he approached the sacred edifice, in the form of a ram.

I have already described four of the approaches to the temple. One more, on the north side, remains to be mentioned. It has a gateway, similar, in form, proportions, and ornaments, to that before the Temple of Isis, and, like it, is worthy of being compared with the most beautiful of the triumphal arches upon which the taste and skill of ancient and modern architects have been lavished. Between this entrance and the temple, a distance of perhaps one third of a mile, are the splendid remains of three other temples. This part of Thebes, or Diospolis, was indeed a city of temples. All the minor edifices were connected with the grand temple by statuary, colonnades, and other constructions. This was the great focus, of which the approaches were so many brilliant radii. The whole was enclosed in a brick wall, of which there are considerable remains. The religious objects and character of the city seem to have

regulated its form and internal arrangement, and the human habitations must have occupied the irregular spaces that intervened among the temples and their various lines of communication.

I have spoken of the inscriptions and various figures that cover the different parts of the temple in detail. Every wall and chamber—column, ceiling, propylon, all are filled with hieroglyphics and sculpture; and it is only when the absence of the ornaments is mentioned that they are wanting. The remark applies to the outer walls not less than to the interior parts of the temple.

On the exterior northern wall is sculptured a spirited battle scene. The hero, supposed to be Rhamses, is in a chariot drawn by noble steeds. He is armed with a bow, from which he shoots deadly missiles upon his discomfited foes, who are flying before him in the utmost consternation. Some fugitives appear escaping from a beleaguered city, clambering and leaping down its walls. Groups of prisoners are seen with their arms tied behind the back, and some with the hands bound above the head. Finally, they are in the presence of the triumphant and relentless conqueror, who holds up one of them in the left hand by the hair, while with the right he lifts up an enormous battle-axe, by which he is about to achieve the usual consummation of ancient victories.

On the south side of the temple is a hieroglyphic inscription of great importance as well as peculiar interest. It records the triumphs of Shishonk, or Shishack, king of Egypt, and exhibits a procession of the several nations whom he has conquered. Jews of characteristic and marked features appear in the captive group, and the inscription names the Kingdom of Judah among the hero's conquests. Champollion mentions this inscription, and subsequent travellers skilled in hieroglyphics confirm his statement. I am of course indebted to those writers for

the interpretation of the hieroglyphics. It is gratifying to find among the antiquities of Egypt, which have been so often and so rashly pressed into the service of infidelity, a striking confirmation of the Holy Scriptures.

The Temple of Carnac covers nearly ten acres of ground. Two ancient, artificial lakes, lined with masonry and lying a short distance west and south of the temple, still receive water from the Nile at the time of the inundation, and probably by filtration.

The most ancient portion of the grand temple was built at least as early as 1840 B.C.* Additions were made by successive monarchs nearly down to the time of Ptolemy Lathyrus, who destroyed Thebes, and probably reduced this temple to the state in which it is now seen by the traveller.

After a day of much fatigue and of absorbing interest, we returned to our boat moored at Luxor. To-morrow we propose to visit the Tombs of the Kings, on the opposite side of the river. In order to save time, we ordered the boat to fall down the Nile to Gornou, which is the usual point of departure for the monuments. This village occupies the northern part of the site of the ancient capital, and is in a small grove of palm-trees a little way from the shore. Its mud-wall hovels, roofless or slightly covered with straw or palm-leaves, are but thinly peopled. The tombs, long since relieved of their original and rightful occupants, seem to be preferred for habitations to the frailer structures, and many of the people employed in cultivating the fields on the banks of the Nile, retire, as the night approaches, to these ancient excavations, which stretch all along the border of the Desert. They find them spacious and substantial habitations; but their distance from the river is attended with the inconvenience of a scarcity of water. I saw no pools or canals, and presume they obtain water, for domestic and all other purposes, from the Nile.

* Wilkinson's Thebes.

## CHAPTER XV.

Visit to the Tombs of the Kings.—A Ride on Horseback.—A Cicerone.—Faults of the Genus.—A Blunder.—Description of the Route.—Marine Shells upon the Mountain.—Situation of the Tombs.—General Description.—Entrances.—Long Corridors.—Interior.—Tomb of Belzoni.—Dimensions.—Descent.—Grotesque Ornaments.—Grand Discovery of Belzoni.—Ancient Painting.—Sketches.—Cartoons of Raphael.—Processions.—The Four Races of Men.—Royal Chamber.—Sarcophagus.—Character of the Painting.—Dimensions of several Tombs.—Bruce's Tomb.—Corridor.—Side Chambers.—Interesting Paintings.—Musical Instruments.—Agricultural Scene.—A Kitchen.—Furniture.—Injustice done to Bruce.—Violation of the Tombs of the Kings.—Their Design.—Monuments west of the River.—Their Situation.—Grand Design.—Temple in Gornou.—Another ruinous Temple.—Broken Statues.—Memnonium.—Approach.—Ruinous Propylon.—Fine View.—Battle Scenes.—Columns.—Statues.—Broken Colossus of Rameses.—Its Dimensions.—Ancient Bricks.—The Vocal Memnon.—Curious Testimonies.—Description of the two Colossi.—Architectural Remains near the Memnon.—Medinet Habou.—Great Extent of Ruins.—Entrance of the smaller Temple.—Church.—Pavilion.—Sculpture.—Great Temple.—Unique Pillars.—Scenes on the Walls.—Sea Fight.—Prisoners.—Barbarous Custom.—Hunt.—Other Temples.—Tombs.—Their Appearance and Number.—Construction.—Inhabited.—Additions.—Fine Situation.—Ancient Paintings.—Vast Excavations.—Vandalism.—Representations of Ancient Manners.—Their Historical Value.—Relique Hunters.—Desecration of the Tombs.—Counterfeit Antiques.—Tact.—Visit to Carnac by Moonlight.—Thebes and its Monuments.—Universal Desolation.—Genius of the Ancient Egyptians.—Their Wealth and Civilization.—Probable Character of their Government.—Antiquity, Extent, and Population of Thebes.—Resources.—Decline and Ruin.—Nebuchadnezzar.—Cambyses.—Lathyrus.

FEBRUARY 11. We rose early, and before seven o'clock were mounted, some on donkeys and some on horses, ready to proceed to Biban el Mâlook, "The Gates of the Kings." It was the first time I had found an opportunity of riding on horseback since my arrival in Egypt, and, tempted by the rather fine appearance of the animal, and the luxury of a Turkish saddle and bridle, I rashly preferred him to the

humble, patient donkey. My horse did not prove a bad one; but I was constantly reminded, through the day, of the good qualities of his discarded rival, and experienced more fatigue than I have been accustomed to feel from riding donkeys thrice the distance.

For the first time since the commencement of our excursion, we this morning put ourselves under the direction of a guide, who was highly recommended to us for his knowledge of the localities of Thebes, where he has long resided, as well as for his acquaintance with the English language. Our plan of operation had been formed advisedly the previous evening, and communicated to the Arab cicerone. His first essay of skill was shown in leading us a mile out of the way, to the ruins of an old temple which we had resolved to see, if at all, at another time. His subsequent efforts to relieve us of the trouble of employing our own eyes and wits were of a piece with this ominous beginning, and afforded fresh proof of what a good deal of previous experience had convinced me, that a guide, beyond the mere function of pointing out the road, is the greatest obstacle in the way of a stranger who wishes to become acquainted with ancient monuments. His whole stock of attainments usually amounts to a few dicta which he has picked up from the remarks of travellers for whom he has carried a candle or a bottle of water. Some of them he has misunderstood, from his ignorance of their language. Others he misapplies, through ignorance, or stupidity, or carelessness; and, upon the whole, he is likely to utter more falsehoods than truth. He professes to know all objects of interest, and hurries you over such as it would only be a waste of time to examine. The result is, you miss of much that is valuable altogether, and the knowledge actually obtained is disjointed, superficial, and unsatisfactory, for want of that close and continuous attention which is necessarily employed in independant examinations where we are left to determine what are the

more interesting objects by comparing them for ourselves with such as are less so.

We turned away from the temple without waiting to satisfy our curiosity, and hastened to be in time to meet two Englishmen who were to be of our party in visiting the Tombs of the Kings. Our way led us, for more than an hour, through a region of sterility and desolation. A dreary pathway conducts the visiter over a waste of sand, occasionally encumbered with ruins. The suburbs of ancient Thebes may have reached so far towards the cemetery of its kings, and the no less ruinous walls of many Arab huts show where, under the influence of superstition, perhaps, or reverence for the abodes of the dead, some peasant has chosen to erect his frail, humble habitation, in preference to occupying more sumptuous apartments in the excavated rocks around him. Swelling masses of limestone succeed to the region of sand, but their surfaces are so disintegrated by the action of the elements as to resemble a succession of low sand-hills, here and there diversified with a prominent rock or more extensive ledge, the whole scantily sprinkled with pebbles and small fragments of limestone. Gradually, and by an imperceptible ascent, we approached the base of the mountain, and wound along a gorge of considerable depth, which seems once to have been the channel of a wild torrent. It is said, however, that rains here never exceed the violence and copiousness of a gentle shower, and it is not very easy to account for this appearance. A multitude of sea-shells, in a petrified state, scattered through this valley, as well as upon the sides and top of the mountain, indicate great physical changes.

After pursuing our various but always dreary way for an hour or more, we stood before the Tombs of the Kings. They are excavated in the northern side of a ragged and picturesque, but gloomy mountain, perhaps five hundred feet high, which lies directly between them and the an-

cient city of Thebes. The declivity next the town is occupied with private tombs. The kings, obedient to the instincts of royalty, withdrew from the haunts of the plebeian dead, and hollowed out the sanctuaries to which they chose to intrust their ashes and posthumous dignity, in the opposite side of the mountain. The valley is enclosed on all sides, and the eye looks in vain for the path along which we had wound our way into this silent retreat. Still the range of vision is rather extensive, embracing the vale and the sides and summits of several lower ridges of the mountain, but it is cheered by no green or living thing. Not a shrub or blade of grass enlivens the scene; and no doubt the same cheerless sterility recommended this gloomy spot to the monarchs who, three thousand years ago, chose it for their resting-place.

The tombs are entered by a simple doorway, eight or ten feet high by about six wide. A perpendicular surface is smoothed on the brow of the rock of barely sufficient extent for the purpose, and no exterior ornament prepares the visiter for the splendour that is to burst upon him within. In a few instances, where the rock was loose or shelving, there is a short subterranean passage before arriving at the door. We entered seven or eight of these tombs, which resemble each other in their general form and structure. A long passage or corridor, about twelve feet high and ten wide, is excavated into the mountain, descending, by successive staircases or gentle slopes, to various depths below the level of the entrance. In some of the tombs there are small chambers on each side of the corridor, beginning near the entrance, and in all of them this passage leads to a succession of apartments, variously ornamented with sculpture and painting. Near their termination is a room of superior size and elegance, its lofty roof vaulted and richly ornamented. In the centre of this apartment was the massive sarcophagus, apparently made to hold the remains of the

dead. There is, however, in all the tombs, a long passage usually leading from the principal room just described. It is without ornament and of contracted breadth, but in some instances has been pursued not less than three hundred feet. It has been conjectured that these immense pits were places of royal sepulture, while the costly sarcophagus and state chamber were made for the display of the funeral procession, or perhaps only to deceive the plunderer who should be tempted by the treasures known to be buried with royal personages, to violate their tombs.

The first tomb which we entered, and in some respects the most interesting of them all, is the one discovered by Belzoni. With about the usual width and height, this excavation into the bowels of the mountain is three hundred and twenty feet long.* Its chief apartment is said to be ninety feet below the level of the entrance, and the descent is made by three easy flights of stairs, which occur at nearly equal intervals. The second staircase has twenty-six steps, which are a good deal broken by use, the stone not having sufficient solidity to resist the action of footsteps. It is soft and friable, easily wrought, and of a beautiful whiteness which I have not observed in limestone rock out of Egypt. The sides and ceiling of this long corridor are covered with sculpture and painting. Many large figures represent Egyptian divinities and other mythological beings, and of course exhibit those unnatural and incongruous combinations to which their debasing theology naturally gave rise. The hawk-headed, wolf-headed, and dog-headed human figures which they worshipped, appear among the ornaments of this tomb. The painting is much dimmed by time, and it is not till we have advanced to that part of the tomb into which Belzoni was so fortunate as to discover the entrance, that any peculiar interest is excited. The paintings have all lost their original freshness, but are brighter in proper-

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 105.

tion as they are more distant from the entrance. They are done, in this part of the tomb, with the bad taste into which the ancient Egyptians seem never to have been betrayed except by the monstrous combinations of their mythology. Huge serpents, with two or three heads, move along the walls, at once walking on human feet and flying with outstretched wings. Boats, with beaks in the form of serpents' heads, have men and winged reptiles on board.

It was at the termination of this passage that Belzoni made his fortunate discovery. He cleared out a well which he found choked with rubbish, and discovered a rope attached to a stick which lay across its mouth. It was made of the palm-tree, like the ropes still mostly in use in Egypt, and was very brittle. The design of the well is uncertain; whether it was a pit for mummies, or excavated to receive the water which might sometimes enter the mouth of the cave, and rush down its steep declivities with such violence as to endanger the lower parts of this excavation. The former supposition seems the more probable one, and the rope and windlass may have been for lowering embalmed bodies into the pit, which was probably destined for the burial of the humbler members of the family that occupied the chief apartment of the tomb. Immediately beyond the well, a wall extended across the corridor, which completely closed the passage. It was painted so as to make it resemble the adjoining rock, and had appeared to all who preceded Belzoni to be the termination of the tomb. That sagacious antiquary suspected, from the hollow reverberations which a stroke upon this barrier produced, that there might be other chambers beyond it, and found that he could thrust a rod through a break in the plastering with which this wall was partially covered. He caused it to be demolished, and triumphantly entered into a suite of magnificent apartments, adorned with

painting and sculpture, as fresh and perfect as at the moment when the artist had completed his labours.

The figures are of gods and goddesses, serpents and processions. One large chamber is left unfinished, and the figures with which its walls were to be adorned are in rough outline. They are drawn in red lines, while alterations and corrections appear in black. The painter, whose art was to complete the work thus laid out and ready to his hand, was prevented from executing his task, and we therefore enjoy the singular gratification of being made acquainted with the successive processes by which the most ancient artists carried out their designs. I was reminded of the cartoons of some of the most eminent modern painters, which are preserved in the royal collections in Italy, Vienna, and elsewhere. The modern and Egyptian manner seem to be precisely the same.

In one of these chambers are several very curious processions, bearing on their shoulders immense serpents. They are followed by four groups of men, four in each costumed in a peculiar manner, and with features widely different from each other. These groups have been variously conjectured to represent the nations which had been conquered by the king who occupied this tomb, or which acknowledged the dominion of Egypt, or to be representatives of the different races of mankind, or, finally, as persons employed in a religious procession. The first group are white, the second red, the third black, and the fourth again white. If captives, they were captive kings, as may be inferred from their bearing and habiliments.

The chamber or hall where the sarcophagus was deposited is thirty-three feet long by twenty-seven and a half wide, vaulted, and highly ornamented with various painted figures. The sarcophagus, which is of alabaster, and of beautiful form and workmanship, was borne away as a trophy by Belzoni. Beyond this is a large unfinished room, destitute

of painting and sculpture. On another side a door opens into a chamber which has a bench, about twenty inches high, running on three sides of it, cut out of the rock, and designed, perhaps, to be used in the process of embalming. This tomb, or, as it is called in honour of the discoverer, Belzoni's Tomb, is of greater depth, and the inclined planes by which it is entered are steeper than the other royal tombs. It has another peculiarity. The long corridor makes a considerable angle in its course, to prevent, it is said, interfering with another tomb excavated in the same cliff.

All that has been written of the freshness and good preservation of Egyptian paintings, is realized in the tomb of Belzoni more fully than anywhere else. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that it appears like a work of yesterday. I incline to believe that the most skilful modern artist would despair of producing anything more perfect and effective, as far as colouring is concerned. Little attention seems to have been paid to retouching and finishing. The tombs were only to be seen by torchlight, when small defects would not be observed, and brilliant colouring, with justness of form, proportion, and arrangement, was all that was necessary. Minor defects in execution are concealed under such circumstances, while the general effect of splendid figures and groups is infinitely enhanced. There is much spirit and genius manifest, with great facility of execution. Brilliant colours are laid on with a bold and rapid hand, and, so far as general effect is concerned, nothing of the kind could be more successful; yet it must be admitted that close attention and minute criticism are not likely to be satisfied.

I examined seven or eight tombs in all, which have a general resemblance to the description above given, differing, however, in two particulars from Belzoni's. Their descent is more gentle, and they pursue a right line throughout their whole length, so that a glimmering of daylight penetrates to the bottom. This afforded peculiar facilities

for producing a grand effect by illuminations, with refer[illegible] to which they seem to have been constructed.

Of seven tombs which we entered, one is 342 feet long, the second 435, the third 363, the fourth 218, the fifth 243, the sixth 132, and the seventh 200 feet in length. The depth below the level of the entrance is in one twenty-four feet.*

The tomb which is called Bruce's, from its having been made known to the world by that celebrated traveller, is 405 feet long by thirty-one deep, or below the level of the entrance. It is probably a hundred feet or more below the surface of the mountain. We pass through the door, which is of about the usual dimensions, into a long passage having five small chambers on the right hand and as many on the left. The walls of these are covered with paintings, in good preservation, representing various scenes in common life as well as in Egyptian mythology. In one appear several instruments of music, the most remarkable of which is a harp of eleven strings. In form it is not greatly unlike the instrument which bears its name among us. One chamber contains the weapons of offence and defence in use among the ancients—swords, spears, arrows, bows, knives, shields, coats of mail, and helmets. One is devoted to the representation of agricultural processes, which are not unlike those of El Kab, already described. The mysteries of the ancient kitchen find a place in another of these most instructive chambers. Boats and water-scenes have their usual prominence, and a very interesting display of ancient furniture covers the walls of one apartment. Armed chairs temptingly cushioned, with a support for the back, beautiful ottomans and sofas of tasteful forms and luxurious appliances, couches, splendid vases, baskets, basins, leopard skins, &c., show that this remarkable people had made no less advancement in the art of living comfortably than in

* Wilkinson's Thebes.

architecture. Each of these chambers contains a pit, probably for mummies. This tomb, like the rest, is ornamented with sculpture and hieroglyphics.

It was for the faithful account which he published of this tomb, as well as of the hitherto unknown regions of Abyssinia, that Bruce was branded as a fabulous writer, and a storm of reproach excited against him which imbittered, and, probably, shortened his life. Subsequent inquiries have generally confirmed the truth of his statements, and his is one of the few books of travels whose reputation has increased with the progress of knowledge and of years.

It is a singular fact, that when first explored by modern travellers, all the royal tombs had been broken open and rifled of their contents—of the precious deposites with which royalty was accustomed to be endowed even in the grave, and, as far as can be known, of the worthless dust for the preservation of which these gorgeous cemeteries were formed. Even the Tomb of Belzoni had been plundered, as is thought, by effecting an entrance through some avenue which is now unknown. The massive sarcophagi were all opened, and those which were too unwieldy, or of too little value to be removed, are broken. So vain is every attempt to resist the universal destiny which consigns the human body to dissolution and oblivion. Even the common Egyptians obtained a longer respite from this hated doom than the proudest of their kings. Their bodies were embalmed and committed, with the plebeian multitude, to deep pits, which seem to have been the common receptacles of the humble dead, and they are still discovered in great numbers, and dragged forth from their resting-places as objects of traffic. The sepulchres of the kings were more tempting objects, and fell a prey to the same spirit of cupidity, probably before the Christian era.

The Tombs of the Kings at Thebes, like the Pyramids at Memphis, have given rise to controversies, which threat-

en to be interminable, as to their origin and design. It has been thought incredible that works so vast and expensive should have been executed for no loftier end than to contain the ashes of a frail man. From this superficial though fundamental difficulty a multitude of theories have sprung up; for it seems incumbent upon those who deny that they are mere places of sepulture, which is what they seem to be, to show to what other use they were destined. The theories which suppose the tombs and Pyramids to be temples, or treasuries, or observatories, are not free from objections. If we are to resort to these suppositions to explain the design of the royal tombs and Pyramids, what shall we say of the lesser pyramids, mausolea, and tombs, which approach, in different degrees, the splendour of these structures? Are these, too, temples? The humble individual who sunk a pit two hundred feet into the rock to be the receptacle of his own body and of the remains of his family, was actuated by as strong a motive, be it superstition or vanity, as was the monarch who would sleep under a massive pyramid, or in the vaulted hall which terminates the splendid corridors at Thebes. With more ample means, he would no doubt have reared a loftier pile, or excavated a larger and more sumptuous grave. In all of these efforts to secure the body against posthumous decay, we ought, perhaps, to recognise the working of some powerful religious prejudice, which sought for future, perhaps eternal, benefits, by these painful sacrifices of labour and wealth.

The architectural remains scattered over the western portion of the extensive site of Thebes, are more numerous as well as various, and not less interesting than those on the opposite side of the river. They are mostly found at a distance from the Nile, along the border of the higher grounds that intervene between the alluvial plain and the mountains where we have just visited the Tombs of the Kings. This is a rocky table-land, a good deal elevated

above the plain, on the border of which it terminates, sometimes in an abrupt perpendicular cliff from ten to twenty or thirty feet in height, but more generally in a gentle slope, which insensibly declines into the level region adjacent. Upon this sightly foundation of solid rock, which reaches back to the mountain, and of which, indeed, it is only a continuation, a great number of religious and other edifices were erected, which overlooked the entire city, and were conspicuous objects to the sailor upon the river, as well as to the inhabitants of Diospolis on the opposite bank. Indeed, everything in this wonderful city was arranged for the show and effect of its public edifices; objects to which private interest and general utility must often have been sacrificed, unless, indeed, we could suppose that regard was had to the sites and relative positions of temples and palaces in the original plan of the city, and that the habitable parts were so laid out as to harmonize with such a design.

The first of these ancient structures that arrests the attention in proceeding from the river at the place where our boat was moored, is a small temple in the village of Gornou. It is in a very dilapidated condition, and, judging from the ram's head, which is a principal figure among its ornaments, was devoted to the service of Ammon. A row of fluted columns still adorns its front, and the interior is divided into several apartments, now choked with rubbish. Some remains of broken sphinxes mark the ancient approach to this temple. It was founded by Osirei, who reigned 1385, B.C.*

At the distance of nearly two miles from Gornou, in a western direction, is another pile of ruins, found, on approaching it, to be the remains of a temple. The situation is commanding, and worthy of special attention, as showing the magnificent conception which presided in the design, even more than in the execution of these noble monuments.

* Wilkinson's Thebes.

This edifice fronts the great Temple of Carnac, which, at the distance of four or five miles, was the principal object that met the eye; a consideration that seems to have controlled in the selection of this lofty site, and shows, more clearly than can be done by mere architectural skill and massive constructions, the great advancement which the early Egyptians had made in refinement and taste. Two parallel lines of sculptured sphinxes and colossal statues, fragments of which are scattered over the surface for a considerable distance, define the broad thoroughfare which probably connected these distant fanes with each other, and with a still vaster plan, in which all the religious edifices on both sides of the river seem to have been embraced. The temple in question was partly formed of excavations in the brow of the rock immediately in front of which it was constructed.

In a southeasterly direction from this spot, and just upon the verge of the table-land, is the Memnonium, one of the most extensive of the Theban temples, being about two hundred yards in length by one third as many wide. A vast propylon, in a very dilapidated state, stands on the alluvial soil, about fifty paces east of the temple. The northern half of this massive pile has fallen, and the whole has been shaken to its foundation by some great convulsion, which loosened the blocks of stone from their places without precipitating them to the ground. The eastern face of the propylon, or that which looks towards the Temple of Luxor, is more dilapidated than the other. I made the length, which I did not, however, ascertain very satisfactorily, two hundred and four feet. Staircases still practicable lead to the top of this propylon, and the ascent is rewarded by the best view I had enjoyed of Thebes and its environs. The eye rests upon the whole plain, with its girdle of mountains and the other points of interest—Luxor, Carnac, the statues of the vocal Memnon, and the smaller

temples, are all seen with distinctness and with peculiar advantage as parts of a vast comprehensive plan.

The doorway is finely sculptured, and adorned with ancient painting, and the entire propylon, as well as other parts of the temple, is covered with battle scenes of stirring interest. The conqueror drives his chariot furiously upon the retreating hosts. A castle is carried by assault; and, while the assailants scale its bulwarks by the aid of ladders, the doomed wretches within are seen clinging to the battlements and preparing to drop into the midst of their foes below. A disorderly band of soldiers is engaged in plunder, and numbers of prisoners are seen with the hands manacled above the head. In another part of the temple men and horses are seen plunging into the river, to escape hot pursuit, and their friends stand on the opposite side to aid their ascent from the water.

This temple has the usual variety of splendid courts and piazzas, and more private chambers. In one compartment twenty-eight fine massive columns, still erect, evince its original sumptuousness. Broken statues of black granite and other materials are scattered through different parts of the vast area, and many pedestals, deprived of the gods or heroes which they once supported, tend still farther to increase our wonder at the profusion of costly decorations which distinguish the monumental remains of Thebes above any others existing in the known world.

The most interesting and wonderful object in this locality, or, perhaps, in the whole field of ruins, is the colossal statue of Rameses, which lies in fragments betwen the temple and the grand propylon. It is of the syenite granite, and is probably the largest mass of stone ever wrought into human shape. It might have given the hint upon which Dinocrates conceived the grand idea of making a statue of Mount Athos. The pedestal upon which this fallen colossus once stood is twenty-nine feet long, seventeen wide, and nine in

height. According to our measurement, the statue is twenty-three feet broad across the shoulders, and seven and a half thick, fifty-five in girth around the breast, and about thirteen feet from the shoulder to the elbow. It is five feet across the foot; where not marred by the hammers of antiquarians and travellers, it has a perfect polish, and there are hieroglyphics upon the back and shoulders, finely executed. The face, eyes, nose, and ears have been especially obnoxious to the zeal of the curious, and retain little of their original expression or form. A formal headdress descends on both sides of the neck to the shoulders in broad flaps, marred likewise by the hammer. We followed the bad example of others, and, with infinite toil, broke off some fragments and bore them away as memorials. This statue weighs by estimation 887 tons. It may have been reared about 1350 B.C.*

Hardly less curious in my eyes than this wonderful statue are the sun-dried bricks which form some massive piles of masonry at a little distance from the monument. They are sixteen inches long, seven wide, and five thick. The clay is combined with cut straw in the usual way, and though so fragile that a stroke with a hammer or the foot reduces them almost to powder, they retain their original form perfectly. Some hieroglyphics are stamped upon them, the name, perhaps, of the king, who, thousands of years since, caused them to be made and formed into walls for the protection of this temple or palace, for it is still an open question whether the structure here so imperfectly described was reared in honour of a god, or to give shelter to a frail man.

Southeast from these ruins, and at the distance only of ten minutes' ride, are the two colossal statues which have long been celebrated as among the greatest wonders of art, and their interest to the traveller is increased by the traditions attached to them, which, without being at all more

* Wilkinson.

credible than other ancient fables, have had the fortune to be more respectably attested. One of these statues, long known as the vocal Memnon, was believed, or, at least, affirmed by the ancients, to emit musical sounds every morning at the rising of the sun. There are inscriptions upon the statue itself and its pedestal recording the testimony and names of persons who profess to have heard its voice. Several ancient writers refer to this phenomenon as to a well-known fact, and there is, it is said, a current tradition among the Arabs to the same effect. These circumstances invest this monument with a peculiar kind of interest, and many a traveller has risen early in the morning and crossed the broad plain, of which the statue stands upon the border most remote from the Nile, to be witness of the responses which the courteous Memnon would return to the salutations of the rising sun. With a curiosity as eager, and with no less confidence in his musical power, we deferred our visit to a later hour, and made our way to the spot with some difficulty through a luxuriant growth of wheat, now in the ear, which encumbered the soil, still so saturated with the waters of the inundation that our donkeys sank nearly to their knees. We were once or twice compelled to dismount, but soon found a harder path, that conducted us to the presence of these venerable representatives of ancient kings.

There are two statues, nearly equal in size, in a line with each other, and about forty feet apart, facing the east, and looking towards the distant Temple of Luxor on the eastern side of the Nile. They are seated on thrones, which rest upon pedestals thirty feet in length, eighteen feet wide, and seven and a half high above the surface of the plain, which has been raised by deposites of earth so as to conceal a portion of the substructions. Including the pedestals, the statues in their sitting posture are sixty feet high, and fifty-three above the plain.* The thrones are eight feet in

* Wilkinson.

[illegible] faces, have had the fortune to [illegible]. One of these statues, long [illegible], was believed, or, at least, af- [illegible] to emit musical sounds every [illegible] [illegible] sun. There are inscriptions upon [illegible] pedestal recording the testimony and [illegible] profess to have heard its voice. [illegible] refer to this phenomenon as to a [illegible] that is, it is said, a current tradition [illegible] to the same effect. These circumstances [illegible] with a peculiar kind of interest, and [illegible] early in the morning and crossed the [illegible] of which the statue stands upon the border [illegible] Nile to be witness of the responses which the [illegible] Memnon would return to the solicitations of the [illegible] sun. With a curiosity as eager, and with no less [illegible] in his musical power, we deferred [illegible] and made our way to the spot with [illegible] through a luxuriant growth of wheat, now in the [illegible] encumbered the soil; still so saturated with the waters of the inundation that our donkeys sank nearly to their knees. We were once or twice compelled to dis- [illegible] soon found a harder path, that conducted us to the [illegible] of these venerable representatives of ancient kings.

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COLOSSAL STATUES AT THEBES

The Vocal Memnon

height, by thirty long and eighteen wide, but they add nothing to the height of the statues, as the feet rest upon the pedestals. The material is crystallized sandstone, a good deal discoloured by an impregnation of iron, and so hard as to have received a fine polish, which it retains, except where the surface has been broken by violence or injured by time. This stone has been far less successful in resisting the elements than the specimens of ancient statuary formed of red and black granite, so abundant among the ruins of Thebes. It has suffered still more from the curiosity of travellers, and, as one would think, the mischievous sport of idle boys, who seem to have battered the face and head with stones. Not a feature of the countenance remains entire, and the whole of the front is greatly mutilated, though the more solid parts have resisted this Vandal process pretty successfully. An ample head of hair descends behind. Hieroglyphic inscriptions appear upon the back, as they do upon the sides and base of the thrones, and on different parts of the pedestals. The figures are seated with their hands advanced and resting upon the knees, in the stiff and formal manner which must be admitted to be a distinguishing characteristic as well as the greatest blemish of Egyptian statuary. Each has two small statues sculptured on the outside of the legs, and another between the feet, from a part of the same mass of stone. One of these colossi was broken in very ancient times by an earthquake. It was clumsily repaired with sandstone, of which several successive courses supply the loss of a portion of the body, and of the neck, and the entire head.

These very interesting monuments are covered with the names of visiters, who have in different ages been attracted hither by the architectural and sculptured remains, which, even before the Christian era, were already ruins, and made Thebes, as it now is, a place of pilgrimage to antiquarians and scholars. I have said that they face Luxor, and

that they stand in a line with each other, occupying positions some forty feet asunder. They formed the capital ornaments, and apparently the eastern termination of a splendid avenue, which extended in their rear towards the higher grounds, and connected them with a magnificent palace, or temple, or both, of which considerable remains appear. This, as is thought, was the proper Memnonium, the palace of Memnon, which gave its name to this part of Thebes; while the enthroned dignitaries, who, since the dilapidation of this ancient edifice, have arrogated its name, are only statues of the same hero. Several huge masses of stone, one thirty feet long, twelve wide, and seven in thickness, and covered with hieroglyphics; broken statues of red and black granite, and ten pedestals and broken columns, mark the site of this very ancient and magnificent structure. Fragments of sphinxes and other statuary scattered over the intervening space, bound the avenue on the right and left, that led hence to the vocal Memnon. They appear to have been recently disinterred from the accumulations brought upon them in the course of ages by the inundation, and perhaps also, in part, from the depths to which they had sunk by their own gravity into this soft, deep soil.

About half a mile farther south, upon the edge of the rocky steppe, is a wide field of massive, splendid ruins, usually called the Temple of Medinet Habou, from the straggling Arab village which disfigures its neighbourhood. This cluster of dilapidated edifices affords another instance of the grandeur of conception which Egyptian architects laboured to express in the vastness of their plans and combinations. Carnac, with its labyrinth of temples, is a still more imposing example.

We enter these ruins, which are hardly less than a mile in circuit, through a spacious court, enclosed with high walls, forty-three paces in length by twenty-six wide. Passing thence through the eastern side, between two columns,

beautifully sculptured and painted, we reach a propylon ninety-three paces in length, and in good preservation. It is destitute of ornaments, with the exception of the doorway, which exhibits fine samples of painting in the Egyptian taste, and some sculpture. Fifteen steps in advance is a smaller propylon, through which we entered a colonnade leading into a square court. Here a Christian church has been erected out of the materials so abundant on every hand. Beyond this is another spacious piazza, formed on the sides by a gallery resting on rows of columns, roofless, and giving access to smaller apartments on the right and left, and in the rear. Adjoining this temple, on the west, is a structure unlike any other in Thebes, or, indeed, in Egypt. It is three stories in height, and, measured upon the ground, is of small dimensions, each story having been divided into only two rooms. It is adorned with sculpture. On the front a conqueror slays his suppliant prisoners, according to the barbarous usages of ancient warfare. The interior apartments are covered with more befitting ornaments for a royal lodge. The king sits in luxurious ease, while his wives, or the ladies of his court, stand around him, some offering flowers, others fanning him in the Oriental style, which seems to have been the same in all ages. This structure is too small for a palace, which it probably was. From its arrangement it can hardly have been a temple.

Whatever may have been its design, it is certain that a passage passed under its centre to an immense edifice, about one hundred paces farther west, of which it was, perhaps, an appendage, and which is the principal object in this field of ruin. The propylon is about sixty paces in length, and the whole temple one hundred and seventy paces by a width of fifty. It has the usual number of spacious courts, and piazzas, and private chambers. In the first court is a row of eight columns, with lotus-leafed capitals, and opposite to

them, on the right, are as many square pillars with gigantic human figures sculptured upon the front, an anomaly which is sufficiently curious, but inconsistent with harmonious effect. A covered gallery here has its ceiling ornamented with stars planted in a sky of azure. A similar gallery is found in a second magnificent court, the centre of which, according to the taste of former days, when it was probably regarded a triumph over paganism, is occupied by a Christian church.

The propylon and walls of this edifice are covered with interesting representations, illustrative, no doubt, of Egyptian history, and probably of that of the king who erected this temple, and perhaps palace combined. A sea-fight is portrayed with much spirit. We see a boat capsized, and the drowning sailors struggling for life and clambering up the sides of more fortunate barques. The combatants are armed with bows, arrows, and short swords, which seem to have been the only weapons. A company of prisoners appears in another place, their hands tied above the head or behind the back. They are naked, with only a narrow cloth about the loins, and are destined to destruction, if we may guess at the spirit in which war was waged in those early days from a singular representation which appears on another part of the wall. Two large piles of hands are seen which have been severed either from the dead or from the prisoners. A man is employed in counting them in the presence of an important personage, and a scribe writes out the number upon a tablet, which he holds in his hand for the purpose. The Egyptians would seem, from this exhibition, to have measured their success by the number of hands they were able to produce as trophies of victory, just as our Indians do by scalps.

From a hunting-scene sculptured in a very spirited manner upon another portion of the wall, we learn that kings pursued the chase in chariots, which was perh[illegible]ica-

ble on the plain of the Nile, and in parts of the Desert. The huntsman shoots arrows at a retreating and wounded lion, while another of the lords of the forest is struggling with death under his horse's feet.

A large part of this magnificent edifice is concealed and made inaccessible by an inconceivable quantity of rubbish. It fills large apartments, and even covers the roof in some places, so that much which, no doubt, would be highly curious and instructive to the traveller, is hidden from his inspection.

This edifice bears the name of Rameses III., who reigned B.C. 1235. The smaller one may be 300 years older.*

Remains of several other temples of inferior dimensions and in worse preservation are found in this part of ancient Thebes, always in well-chosen and commanding positions, and usually in apparent harmony with the magnificent plan in which all were embraced. The eastern division of the city, which was dignified with the name of Diospolis, as being especially consecrated to the service of Ammon, did not contain a larger number of edifices dedicated to religious worship, though the great Temple of Carnac, and even that of Luxor, surpassed all others in size and sumptuousness.

I pass by these smaller structures as of minor interest, but I must not omit to notice another class of monuments, more ancient, perhaps, than the oldest of the temples. I refer to the excavations along the base of the mountain, which bounds this part of Thebes on the west and northwest. They are not, indeed, confined to the mountain, but are found in vast numbers in the brow of the lower rock, which, in many parts of the elevated table-land so often mentioned, rises in extensive, spreading masses, that, to a spectator on the alluvial plain, present the appearance of long, perpendicular walls. These cliffs afforded a favour-

* Wilkinson's Thebes, p. 50.

able opportunity for excavations, and they were all converted into vast and deep receptacles for the dead. The tombs are entered by small doors, which form long rows in the face of the rock, in their appearance not unlike a tier of windows, or the doors that open upon the long corridors of a monastery. The resemblance is increased by immense piazzas excavated in front of these lines of tombs, and supported by single or double rows of pillars. More than fifty of these entrances into as many caverns running far into the mass of rock in the rear, are seen in a regular series of the sort I have described. They form an imposing spectacle, and, when considered in reference to their object and history, a solemn and affecting one. A good deal of uniformity seems to prevail in their interior construction, as well as in the appearance of the exterior. A large, commonly square apartment, occupies the front, from which a passage runs into the rock in the rear to a great distance. I followed one of these passages, I should conjecture, two hundred feet or more, and there it was choked up with rubbish. In pits and niches excavated in the remoter parts of these passages, the embalmed bodies were deposited, and they are still found there in great numbers.

It has been thought that these artificial caverns were designed for the habitations of the living as well as resting-places for the dead. Their form and use demonstrate that they were tombs, but it seems hardly credible that their original design should have embraced objects so repugnant in their nature. The dead and the living do not love to consort and dwell together. It may have been so, however, with the old Egyptians. Their religion was well able to debase the nature of man and greatly to modify his appetences and aversions. The fellahs live in these tombs at present without regard to their former uses; but it is not their fathers and kindred who are buried there. In order to increase the room and secure the entrance they build a

low, semicircular addition directly in front, which is occupied for some domestic purposes, while the ancient tombs, nearly filled up with rubbish, are used for sleeping apartments. They are dry, and with a little labour employed in removing the encumbrances, might be converted into very comfortable residences. Two or three of them have been very well fitted up by foreigners who spent some years here in studying antiquities. These situations are very cool and airy, and they command a lovely and noble prospect—green fields and venerable ruins—the whole magnificent plain of Thebes, watered by the more magnificent Nile, and the lofty mountains round about.

I explored three of these inhabited tombs with the consent, though a little ungraciously given, of the inhabitants. A part of the interior of one was used for a granary. The bed of the fellahs, instead of being a mere bench or platform as usual, was a kind of trough, formed in a mass of brick or clay. An elephant and a giraffe were painted upon the ancient wall, rather dimmed by time, but as large as life. I do not remember to have seen these animals represented before, certainly not the latter one, either in the sculpture or painting of the Egyptians. In front of this habitation was a sycamore mummy case, in good preservation and the painting quite fresh, which was used as a trough for feeding donkeys.

I entered another tomb of vast dimensions and running out into a number of long, irregular apartments, made, it should seem, without any plan. I had no guide, but think we passed through a series of chambers and passages, in all not much less than 1000 feet in length. This could not have been a private tomb, like the rest in this region. It contains sculpture and a profusion of painting, mostly dim and partially obliterated, but occasionally very entire and vivid. The limestone rock is of exquisite whiteness, and a number of men were employed in quarrying it into small

fragments to be carried away and burned into lime. I looked upon their destructive labours with a feeling of sorrow bordering on indignation. Perhaps such regrets are unreasonable, as they certainly are useless. Why should the poor fellah be tasked to minister to the curiosity or taste of strangers? He has already burdens enough, and it would at least seem to him a hardship to be compelled to go to the more remote mountain for limestone, when at half the distance, and with a tithe of the labour, he might load his ass with those useless though painted and sculptured fragments.

The sculpture and painting which cover the walls of several of these sepulchral excavations are devoted, like those of the grottoes of El Kab, to the representation of Egyptian manners and employments in very early times. They consist of religious processions, funeral ceremonies, aquatic, hunting, and agricultural scenes; an incredible number of mechanical processes, dancers, musicians, royal presents, articles of furniture, the figures of animals, and of men and women of all ranks and occupations, represented individually, and in groups and assemblages. Elaborate volumes could not convey to us such treasures of information with regard to the modes of living, the arts, occupations, religious rites, amusements, and manners of this ancient people. The representations are commonly made upon the soft limestone rock, smoothed for the purpose, and less frequently on a surface of stucco, harder than the rock itself, which was probably used only when the native mass was fractured, or otherwise ill-adapted for the purpose, or upon walls composed of bricks or stone, chiefly the former, of which specimens frequently occur. These representations cannot fail of inspiring the traveller with the highest admiration of the genius and advanced civilization of this wonderful nation.

These tombs are chosen as the proper field of relique

hunters, an employment which is regularly pursued by a considerable number of families as the means of livelihood. Their business is to remove the rubbish and earth from the tombs and mummy-pits which have not already been rifled by their predecessors, to drag out the embalmed dead to the long-forgotten light, to strip them of their antique, dingy, aromatic habiliments, and to search their ears, necks, fingers, wrists, ancles, &c., in quest of any jewelry, bracelets, amulets, or images of sacred animals or gods, or articles of greater value which may have been deposited with them in the grave. Occasionally a mummy is found so elaborately prepared and in such good preservation as to be in itself a valuable object of merchandise. It is then carefully conveyed to the house of the fortunate finder, and preserved among his valuables to the season when the coming of curious visiters creates a market. Usually, however, he is content with collecting the smaller plunder, with some pieces of the cloth used in embalming, and the wooden case, if they happen to be well preserved, or even fit for fuel. The body is then left upon the spot, with perhaps the head or legs and arms broken off in the search. The ground in one place was so thickly strown with dead bodies and fragments of them, that care had to be used not to step upon them in walking. The horses and donkeys which are kept here to be hired to travellers, are so familiar with these sights that they do not so much as prick their ears at stepping over a corpse or stumbling against a skull. Many articles of domestic use are found interred with their former owners; such as vases of stone, earth, or metal, knives, javelins, various ornaments, glass, terra-cotta, or metallic, and many articles in wood—chairs, head-rests used for pillows, small boxes, &c., &c. Almost every peasant has a supply of these gleanings of the grave, and a Frank boat no sooner makes its appearance in the river than a multitude of these poor people hasten to the shore

with their assortment of antiques. They show much shrewdness and practical skill in making a bargain, and often seem to comprehend the antiquarian knowledge of a stranger at a glance. They commonly begin with asking an enormous price—ten or twenty times as much as they will ultimately take, and they frequently offer to novices things of no value, such as parts of mummies, a hand with the nails dyed or gilded, or shreds of mummy cloth. If the crowd of venders is not too great, they guard against underbidding each other, and present their wares by turns. When they find a particular kind of antique in request, they pretend that it is very scarce, only one or two specimens of the sort being to be had. As soon, however, as the sale of one is effected, another and another are taken out of the bosom, or are brought by a woman or boy, who has been concealed upon the top of the bank. The crowd of sellers often becomes very annoying, pressing around the boat so as to render it very difficult to go on shore. Some of them followed us the whole day in our rambles among the tombs and ruins, often presenting the objects which they wished to sell, and urging us to buy with much importunity. The prices which they obtain are usually quite insignificant, though antiques are becoming comparatively scarce by the increasing number of travellers, nearly all of whom bear away a small collection of these unique objects. This growing scarcity has produced its usual effect in the multiplication of counterfeits, of which I saw a good many, such as vases, images, and other articles in alabaster, granite, and terra cotta, very well executed, though ridiculously new and fresh, considering the high antiquity that was claimed for them.

The night before our departure from Thebes we paid a final visit to the Temple of Carnac. The moon shone resplendently, and surely it never shed the enchantment of its beams upon a scene of greater magnificence. We travers

ed the expanse of ruins in different directions, and ascended to the top of the great northern propylon, as well as to the broken roof of the grand colonnade, whence the eye was able to embrace the whole area of the temple at a glance. The fatigue of our long walk through the fields, and the toil of the ascent, were richly repaid by new and interesting views. The pale, soft light that now fell upon these venerable ruins, invested them with fresh and peculiar beauties. All had been vast, and desolate, and sublime, when seen in the stronger light of the sun. Now all boundaries seemed to be removed, and the field of ruins to stretch away for a mile or more, and to join and blend with the approaching mountains. The huge columns of the great portico, which, with their superstructures, are eighty feet in height, and nearly forty in circumference, were greatly magnified as well as multiplied by the dark shadows which they cast upon each other, and upon the wall in their rear; and, as we stood upon the immense blocks of stone that repose, in threatening majesty, upon their summits, and looked below into the sea of mingled light and shade, their long shafts seemed to reach down into the depths of a fathomless abyss. All the rougher features of the shattered propyla and walls, and broken statues and obelisks, were disguised under a veil of solemn magnificence which the night had drawn over them; and the dilapidations, rubbish, and ruins which encumber this vast site were all transformed into orderly arrangement and harmonious proportions. The imagination needed no prompting to reanimate these enchanted courts with the stoled priests and solemn processions that once moved, in awful pomp, through their gorgeous, endless colonnades. The sailor boys whom we had taken with us from the boat were evidently affected by the scene. They were unusually silent, and appeared serious and thoughtful during the whole time spent in the temple, though they at once became playful and noisy upon leaving it.

I left Thebes with regret—with a feeling approaching to melancholy, after spending four days in a hasty, unsatisfactory examination of the vast number of interesting objects which it contains. It is not often convenient for a passing traveller to stay longer, but months and years would not exhaust this rich mine of antiquities. No other ancient place which I have visited makes its instructive homily upon the madness of ambition and the transitoriness of human grandeur, half so touching and impressive. In Rome, and even in Athens, the solemn lesson is perpetually interrupted by the busy pursuits and noisy pleasures of still teeming life; and the monuments of generations long since gone are often blended with, and half concealed by, the habitations or more ambitious structures of the present. At Thebes, everything is left to the desolation to which time and violence have consigned it. The peasants, with their cottages and cornfields, which are seen only here and there upon the ancient plain, are just sufficient to make a good contrast to the fallen temples, yawning tombs, and colossal images that look down in derision upon their puny labours. These monuments are principal objects in the scene, and there is nothing else in the form either of improvement or wealth, or even industry, to distract the attention which they are permitted to engross, or to break in upon the converse into which they insensibly draw us with the men who, at an era beyond the age of authentic history, reared up these memorials of their achievements, literature, and arts.

I think it impossible to sojourn, even for a few days, among such venerable objects, without being inspired with the highest respect for the ancient Egyptians, though the proofs of their debasing superstitions, which so abound here, must inevitably detract a good deal from that feeling. I incline to the opinion that in point of genius they are entitled to the first place among all the ancient nations. True, these structures lack the lightness, the chaste simplicity

and faultless proportions, which distinguish Grecian architecture, as exhibited in the Theseion and Parthenon at Athens. It is essential to remember, however, that the Egyptians were the inventors; the Greeks only improved upon their models—an easy task for even inferior minds. This remark is, with some modification, applicable to the statuary as well as the architecture of the two nations. In all that indicates high talent, grandeur of conception, and skill in the applications of science to mechanical operations, the Egyptians were superior, and at least equal in the lower attributes of mere handicraft skill and patient industry.

We must suppose that they were a wealthy people, chiefly, perhaps, from the great number of elegant and costly tombs, and other sepulchral monuments, found both here and near ancient Memphis. These were not all royal sepulchres, and their number and sumptuousness compel us to believe that there existed at that early age a pretty numerous class of wealthy merchants and landholders; yet the Pyramids, and the great number of massive and sumptuous temples and palaces found along the entire length of the valley of the Nile, should probably admonish us of the wretchedness and sufferings of the people, rather than of the general diffusion of comfort and wealth among them. There were high genius and cultivated intelligence to plan these stupendous works and guide in their execution; but the toil which quarried the huge masses of stone, and transferred them from the mountains, and transformed them into statues, and obelisks, and sculptured columns, and magnificent temples, was probably extorted by tyrants from degraded slaves. These immense structures tell rather of cruel oppression than of the affluence either of the kings or the people. Mohammed Ali, with the aid of some foreign architects and task-masters, could easily repeat the miracles of Sesostris and the architect kings. Had it pleased him to employ the 200,000 men whom he has withdrawn from

the failing agriculture of Egypt during the last ten years, in the quarries of Jebbel Silsily and Assouan, instead of among the passes of Mount Taurus, he might, ere this, have rivalled the Pyramids, or re-edified all the fallen structures of Thebes. Five and a half millions of dollars per annum will employ 300,000 men at a piaster a day.

Thebes was certainly one of the oldest cities in the world, though no one pretends to have discovered the era of its foundation. Homer refers to it as great and populous, and renowned in arms. It was one hundred and forty stadia, full seventeen miles, in circumference, according to Diodorus, a statement which is confirmed by the extent of the present field of ruins. We should be led to suspect that its population must have been small, compared with this vast area, were it not that the multitude of its inhabitants was always a subject of particular remark. This is referred to whenever Thebes or No is mentioned in the Bible. Jer., xlvi., 25: "Behold, I will punish the multitude of No." Ezekiel, xxx., 15: "I will cut off the multitude of No." Nahum, iii., 8: "Art thou better than populous No?" If the population bore any just proportion to the extent of the city, which can hardly be questioned against such evidence, it could not have amounted to much less than a million; a number which seems incredible when we consider its situation, five hundred miles above the Delta, and that the whole country naturally dependant upon it was the narrow vale of the Nile above and below, which is, upon the average, only five or six miles wide—a territory about equal in extent to one tier of townships extending in length through Ohio and Indiana. Whence, then, did its immense population derive subsistence? Probably the dominion of the ancient city extended far southward over the regions that lie upon the Nile. "Egypt and Ethiopia were her strength, and it was infinite," is the language of Nahum, iii., 9. It is highly probable, too, that Thebes was the emporium of the

Indian trade before it passed to the possession of Tyre and Sidon, a supposition which would, indeed, account for its early wealth and vast population. Thebes was a great and powerful city in the days of Homer, and seems to have attained the height of its prosperity more than a thousand years before the Christian era. The prophet Nahum, who probably wrote near the end of the eighth century before our era, refers to the overthrow of that city, with the accompaniments of sanguinary violence and captivity which in those ages attended military success. "She was carried away, she went into captivity, her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains." More than a century later new calamities were predicted by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which fell upon Thebes during the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, and more fully at its conquest by Cambyses, king of Persia, 525 B.C., who waged a relentless warfare against the religion of the conquered people, and was likely to visit this famous city, which was consecrated to the worship of their deities, with special vengeance. It was still an important city four hundred and forty years later, when it was captured and destroyed for engaging in a rebellion against the reigning Ptolemy. The desolation then made seems to have been complete and universal, and Strabo describes Thebes in his day nearly as it is at present. The vast population was reduced to the inhabitants of a few small villages, the temples were partially demolished, and the vocal Memnon was mutilated. The nineteen centuries which have since elapsed have probably wrought only inconsiderable changes upon the architectural remains that have so long formed the chief attraction of this ancient metropolis; and, for anything that now appears, may continue through all future time to be instructive memorials of the earliest civilization.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Descent of the Nile.—Gheneh.—Cotton Factory.—Trade, Bazar.—Bad Morals.—Females in Public.—Attempts at Reform.—Frank Visiters.—Visit to Dendera.—Site of Tentyra.—Gateway.—Plain of Dendera.—Cattle.—Broad-tailed Sheep.—The Temple.—Its Age and present Condition.—Typhonium.—Gow.—Meeting with a Fellow-countryman.—A Pelican.—Visit to Siout.—Causeway and Bridge.—Canal.—Interior of the City.—Slave Trade.—Fertility of this Region.—Lycopolis.—Tombs in the Mountain.—Detestable Traffic.—Antinoe.—Ruins.—Grottoes of Beni Hassan.—Their Form.—Paintings.—Scenes from the Lives of the Ancient Egyptians.—Female Amusements.—Ancient Statues.—Visit to the Ruins of Memphis.—Modern Village.—Forest of Palm-trees.—Mounds.—Their Appearance.—Fragments.—Excavations.—Colossal Statue.—Antiquity of Memphis.—Its Desolation foretold.

In descending the river from Thebes, which we left February 12, at 9 o'clock P.M., we made another visit (Feb. 13) to Gheneh, chiefly for the purpose of procuring supplies. Our sailors expect a donation at every considerable town, in which we are disposed to gratify them whenever their misconduct is not so gross that the indulgence might be taken for a bounty upon idleness and obstinacy. This is the place where the Turkish governor had an interview with the rais, and uttered such grave threats to secure his future good behaviour. Now that the current is in our favour, and relieves the crew from the necessity of making much exertion, still more, perhaps, because we are asleep for the greater part of the time when the boat is in motion, our difficulties upon this point are somewhat diminished and our progress more satisfactory.

I procured a donkey and rode to the town, having been detained at the boat on our upward voyage. We passed a large cotton factory on the way, which attracted especial attention by its agreeable situation in a grove of considerable

extent, that seems to have been planted since the erection of this establishment. The streets of the city, which are very narrow and filthy, are enlivened by rather more business and bustle, and a more various physiognomy and costume, than usually meet the eye in the quiet and secluded towns of Upper Egypt. It has more commerce than any place south of it, owing to its situation upon one of the hadji routes, and, in some small degree, to its having latterly been a good deal visited by travellers to and from India, as well as by those who are on their way to Thebes and the cataracts. I observed one peculiarity in the bazar, which, if it exists elsewhere, I have failed to notice. Benches, made of clay or dried bricks, are raised along the sides of the street for the accommodation of idlers and customers, and the goods of the shopman are deposited just in the rear of them, in recesses or alcoves, not unlike a large old-fashioned fireplace.

Gheneh is distinguished, probably beyond any other place in Egypt, for a laxity of manners quite at variance with the laws and customs of a Mohammedan country. We saw a great number of women unveiled in different parts of the city, but especially upon the streets and approaches towards the harbour. They were dressed with much finery, in silks and other stuffs of the gayest colours, and wore a great profusion of metallic and glass ornaments, such as earrings and necklaces, and various decorations for the forehead and cheeks, rings upon the fingers and toes, which glittered with these shining trinkets, and very massive bracelets, some gilt and others of silver, upon the wrists and ankles. They use the henneh and other colours much more extensively than any other females I have seen in Egypt, tinging not only the eyebrows and lips, but a large part of the face. Several of them had regular, soft features, and would be handsome but for this unnatural disfiguration. They were seated conspicuously by the sides of the streets, or in the

houses by open doors and windows. Some we met walking with a bold and impudent air, which is specially revolting in a country where so much reserve is imposed upon females. It is difficult to conjecture what may have given to Gheneh a distinction so peculiar and discreditable. I was told that serious attempts have lately been made here, as well as in other parts of the country, to repress this growing licentiousness. An order was issued by the governor forbidding females of this class to appear in the streets or at the doors or windows, and at one time during the present winter they were absolutely imprisoned, in anticipation of a large arrival of travellers. The police, however, found much difficulty in enforcing these new regulations, and quite lately the attempt has been abandoned altogether, for a reason, as it was stated to me, which it is hardly possible to believe—the repeated and urgent remonstrances of Frank visiters, and especially those of Englishmen of distinction and influence who had very recently been at Gheneh.

At a short distance below this city, and about three miles from the opposite, or western bank of the Nile, is Dendera, which contains a well-preserved and magnificent specimen of the Egyptian architecture. It is commonly visited in going to Thebes, and being the first of the ancient temples which the traveller meets with, it is usually seen with an interest very intense and peculiar. We had for several weeks been familiar with these vast and massive edifices, but still enjoyed highly a few hours spent in the examination of this, to us, last of the temples. I shall not attempt to describe it, as it differs little from others with which the reader who has had the patience to follow me is already acquainted.

The religious edifice was within, or immediately adjacent to, the ancient city of Tentyra, the extent of which is very well defined by a large field of rubbish and ruins, stretching

along the confines of the alluvial plain and the Desert, here advancing several miles in front of the Libyan Mountain. The site is elevated, and there has evidently been a modern town, perhaps there have been several, built of sun-dried bricks, upon the abundant accumulations of the ancient. A beautiful gateway, chastely ornamented with sculpture and painting, stands just upon the edge of the field of ruins as we approached it from the river, and seems, from its position, to have belonged to the city wall, though it should perhaps be assigned to one of the distant temples, which may have been connected, in the Egyptian style, with this beautiful entrance to the town.

A broad plain of fertile land intervenes between Dendera and the river, and stretches for many miles above and below it. It is, however, but little cultivated, and is overgrown with tough grass, which gives sustenance to large herds of buffaloes and considerable flocks of goats and sheep. The latter are very tall, with shaggy heads, and their legs are covered with coarse wool down to the hoofs. They were of the broad, flat-tailed species, and these long, cumbrous appendages dragged upon the ground.

The Temple of Dendera possesses an interest unlike that which is usually most felt and appreciated in viewing the similar structures that are scattered over Upper Egypt. It is the most modern specimen, or nearly so, of this style of architecture, having been erected, if not by the emperors, at least by some of the last kings of the Macedonian dynasty, and repaired and enlarged under the Roman sway. It is very little out of repair, and might, at no great expense, be put in perfect order. I could not but recognise in some of its magnificent apartments, a fitness, with but few alterations, for the purposes of Christian worship. We may hope that it will yet be devoted to this holy use; and surely a nobler cathedral was never consecrated, not even in Rome, to the service of Almighty God.

The sculpture and painting, which are generally well preserved, are in several very conspicuous parts of the edifice much blackened. More care than usual is manifested for the admission of light, which enters through windows left in the ends of the apartments, and sometimes in the flat roof. A fellah village, now in ruins, stood upon the top of the temple. The ceiling of the portico is ornamented with a zodiac similar to the one at Esneh.

Near the main entrance of the grand temple, and a little to the right, is a small edifice dedicated to Typhon, or, at least, covered with representations of this monster. It is nearly buried in rubbish, and will be remembered by the visiter for the monstrous and truly horrible figures which are sculptured with great effect upon almost every part that rises so high above the encumbrances as to be visible. The region about Dendera seems to be less populous than usual, though the alluvial lands have here an increased breadth, and betray no want of fertility.

We spent an hour on the 14th at Gow, the ancient Antaeopolis. The modern village has two mosques. Near it is a field of rubbish, thirty feet in depth, strewed with some fragments of syenite columns and masses of sandstone covered with hieroglyphics. On the 15th we were happy to meet with professor Morse, of New-York. We had parted with him in Athens, and he was now ascending the river on a visit to Thebes.

The wind was unfavourable this, as well as the ensuing day, and the weather unusually cool. I suffered much from ill health, and with difficulty walked for an hour upon the shore along the base of Jebbel Sheik Heredy. Mr. June shot a pelican here, which measured five and a half feet in length from the beak to the end of the tail, and nine and a half across the outstretched wings.

We spent the larger part of a day (Feb. 17) at Siout, the capital of Upper Egypt, which we had passed in ascending

the river without stopping. It is about two miles from the Nile, with which it is connected by an artificial road or causeway raised ten or fifteen feet above the adjacent plain, for the purpose of being rendered passable during the inundation. This highway, and an insignificant bridge of one short arch, are memorable improvements in such a country as Egypt, where travelling is all done in boats, and carriage roads are almost unknown. This city is also connected with the Nile by a canal, which is navigable in the time of the high water, though dry at the season of our visit. Palm and other trees, and several gardens, beautify the plain, and lofty mountains rise beyond the town, forming a fine background to the view as presented to the eye of the approaching traveller.

The interior of Siout has a better aspect—rather wider streets and larger houses, several of them of burned bricks—than the smaller towns of Upper Egypt. Two or three of the mosques, eleven in all, are also of superior dimensions and appearance. A large palace was erected by Ibrahim Pacha when governor of this part of Egypt, which, I believe, is occupied by the present governor. It is a striking object in a place having so few good buildings, and attracts the especial notice of travellers in descending the river, after they have spent several weeks without seeing any but small and mean habitations. We visited the bazars, which are on a more ample scale, and more plentifully, though still very scantily, supplied with wares than the towns higher up the Nile. This is an important station for caravans trading to Nubia and the neighbouring regions, which imparts, at certain seasons, a good deal of activity to its markets. It has long been a sort of emporium of the slave trade, which constitutes no inconsiderable part of the business of these caravans. At the time of our visit there seemed to be no slaves in the market; at least, we were unable to learn where any were kept for sale, though we made

diligent inquiries, as the slave bazar usually affords an interesting exhibition of wild features and costumes not to be found elsewhere, which the curious traveller is unwilling to pass unseen. Two or three large cotton manufactories belonging to the government increase the bustle and business of the place, and the alluvial plain, broader here, I believe, than anywhere else in Upper Egypt, contributes to its prosperity a vast amount of agricultural products. These commercial advantages, with the presence of the government and considerable bodies of troops, give to Siout an importance much greater than belongs to any other town above Cairo.

The ancient city of Lycopolis stood upon the site now occupied by Siout. It derived its name from the god worshipped by its inhabitants—a jackal.

I was unwell, and too much fatigued to accompany my fellow-travellers in an excursion up the mountain, which overlooks the city at the distance of about two miles on the southwest. A fine view is obtained from their summit, and their side and base are enriched with a great number and variety of ancient tombs, now in a state of dilapidation and ruin.

I ought not, perhaps, to leave the metropolis of Upper Egypt without making some allusion to a traffic of which, with the neighbouring town of Girgeh, it is the emporium, the most detestable that ever disgraced humanity, in comparison with which the African slave-trade, with all its horrors, is a fair and upright business.

Siout and Girgeh furnish Egypt and the East with eunuchs. The victims of this cruel and degrading mutilation are boys, usually of from six to eight years of age, purchased by the slave-dealers in Sennar and other countries on the upper Nile, and brought down by the caravans. They are sold to the operators at from twelve hundred to twenty-five hundred piasters each. A large proportion perish under the tortures to which they are subjected, though the trade is

still lucrative, as it encounters hardly any competition, and enjoys, in fact, a monopoly, not only in Egypt, but also in Turkey. About three hundred of these poor creatures, who are so unfortunate as to survive the cruel discipline which is to fit them for a life of humiliation, annually go forth from these markets to become arguses to the harems of the jealous Mussulmen. They are frequently met with in Cairo and other parts of Egypt, and are easily recognised by their beardless, shrivelled faces and feminine voices. From the nature of their employment, they are important personages in the social system of the East, and they have occasionally been honoured with high public trusts. They are said, however, to be universally an unhappy race, and are regarded with a sentiment of general contempt.

It is mortifying to know that the persons engaged in this business at Siout are native Christians, and that even Coptic priests do not hesitate to participate in its gains and guilt. It is some consolation that they are held in general abhorrence in their neighbourhood.*

February 18. We landed at the small village of Sheik Abade, on the east side of the Nile, to examine the ruins of the Roman city of Antinoe, which occupy a considerable tract, commencing only a few rods from the bank. The building stone, and marble and syenite columns, of which a profusion are scattered over the plain, appear very diminutive in contrast with the massive materials employed by the ancient Egyptians. Antinoe, however, must have possessed several magnificent edifices and several splendid streets, judging from the present appearance of its ruinous site. Two broad avenues are easily traceable, which crossed each other at right angles near what was probably the centre of the city. They were adorned with rows of columns on each side, many of which are now standing, and others, prostrate and broken, cover the ground

* Apercu general sur L'Egypt, par A. B. Clot Bey.

in many directions around the square which was formed by their intersection. Columns, entire and broken, and other materials and substructions, which belonged to temples or other sumptuous buildings, are found in different parts of the encumbered site. A colonnade also led from the principal entrance of the city, on its western side, to the bank of the river. There are a good many columns and fragments of syenite, but the larger portion are of a very white limestone, the material of several structures which have been mostly converted into lime. I measured one shaft, which was seven feet in circumference. Many were smaller, and several lying near the edge of the modern village were very slender. Some of the capitals are Ionic, and many of the shafts are handsomely fluted. Burned bricks were extensively employed in building, and large remains of the ancient walls are visible. Beyond the site, and separated from it by a sandy valley, is a range of rocks full of excavations, which were, no doubt, the tombs of the ancient inhabitants of Antinoe. Several fragments of granite and marble are seen built into the mud walls of the fellah cottages that compose the village of Sheik Abade. I saw, also, upon this side of the town, the bust of a statue of white marble, which seemed very well executed, the drapery especially so.

About ten miles below these ruins, also on the eastern side of the river, are the grottoes of Beni Hassan, where we spent several interesting hours. They are excavated in the base of the mountain, at the distance of perhaps a mile, in a direct line, from the Nile, but increased to three or four miles by a lagoon partly covered with water, which lay across our route, and compelled us to make a long detour around its southern extremity. We obtained donkeys for the excursion, with some difficulty and delay, not, indeed, until we had become weary with walking a considerable part of the distance. The entrances of the grottoes are

reached by ascending a steep, rocky hill which runs along the base of the mountain.

The first of the chambers which we entered is fifty-three feet in length by forty in width. It may be twenty feet in height. The ceiling is arched, and was supported by six fluted columns, two of which, now standing, are a part of the mass of rock, left in making the excavations, and fashioned into architectural ornaments, though with no very high degree of taste or skill. The rooms are all quadrangular, and no great pains was bestowed in imparting a high finish to the walls or the more ornamental parts; an evidence, probably, of the high antiquity to which every appearance bears testimony.

The great interest of these grottoes is derived from the paintings, mostly of domestic scenes, which cover the walls. The colouring is in some instances much dimmed with age, and the figures partially obliterated; but more generally, everything is entire and tolerably fresh, exhibiting, with much vividness and spirit, the customs, arts, and employments of the very ancient Egyptians.

Water scenes have a prominent place in all the representations found upon the Egyptian monuments, and in this tomb, boats, with their oars, sails, and other appurtenances, are portrayed upon the walls. The art of boat-building seems neither to have advanced nor declined for the last three thousand years, and the craft which now play upon the Nile might very well be taken for the originals of these ancient paintings, which, in their turn, might serve as models for modern Djermahs and Daabiahs, with their vast lateen sails.

Agricultural scenes are also conspicuous in these representations, an employment always held in special honour in this fertile country. Its various pursuits are here delineated with much spirit, and several beautiful specimens of cattle show that in this branch of farming, at least, there has

been great deterioration. The ancient graziers seem not to have been fastidious about the colour of their stock, and we have, in these representations, white, red, black, and pied, all of the finest proportions and forms.

A stag hunt is portrayed on one portion of the wall; another is devoted to athletic exercises and feats of strength, to wrestling, raising weights, &c. A harp, much like the modern instrument in form, is also exhibited, and a man is represented bearing two vessels suspended from the ends of a yoke upon his neck, precisely in the manner now employed in carrying buckets of water.

The second tomb which we examined is fifty-six feet in length by forty-three in width, and is also enriched with similar representations of agricultural employments, games, and religious rites. Women are seen playing ball; a proof that they were formerly indulged with more freedom than is allowed them by the customs of the present age. Oxen, asses, lions, and birds are painted in appropriate colours. In this, as well as in the other excavations, is a pit for the reception of mummies, which conclusively proves that they were tombs, though we may infer, from the cheerful and various scenes painted upon their walls, as well as from the spaciousness of the principal apartment, that they were used also for other, probably religious and festive occasions.

The next chamber is adorned in front with a vestibule, supported by two columns. The main room is about thirty feet square, and is enriched with hieroglyphics as well as paintings. The latter, especially the figures in green, are peculiarly vivid. The same interesting objects, variously combined, reappear on the walls of this grotto: boats, with a single hero in each, darting a javeline or lance; women engaged in spinning, in the simple manner still followed in this country; market people carrying burdens balanced on their heads, as is practised by our southern negroes; others driving cattle and fowls along the road, which is thronged

with a promiscuous crowd, going to market and returning. A hunting-scene is also exhibited. A herdsman is feeding cattle, which are butting with their heads. A flock of Nile ducks are seen, and, near by, a man walking out, followed by his dogs.

Another tomb, about forty-three feet square, and entered, like the last, through a vestibule supported by two columns, is ornamented within by four fluted columns, one of which is broken. In a recess in one side of the grand apartment are remains of three statues, broken and much injured. These rude images are probably among the oldest specimens of Egyptian sculpture in existence. The air of antiquity which rests upon these grottoes and all that appertains to them, as well as the familiar exhibition of scenes and objects that give us a vivid impression of the manners and customs of ages so very remote, invest them with an interest altogether peculiar, which is shared with them only by the very similar excavations at El Kâb and Thebes. These grottoes probably belong to the eighteenth century B.C.*

The last day of our returning voyage to Cairo (Feb. 20) was spent among the extensive but shapeless and unintelligible ruins of Memphis. We landed nearly two miles above the point where the mounds, that seem to mark the southern termination of the ancient site, commence, and had to walk nearly that distance to the village of Metrahenny before we obtained donkeys. Here we found that they had been sent to a distant pasture to graze, and we were obliged to wait more than an hour before the man who went for them returned. The village, which is near the edge of the field of ruins, afforded some objects of interest to engage our attention. Several fragments of marble and granite appear in the houses and walls, which were certainly derived from the ancient metropolis. A canal which we passed on a

* Wilkinson.

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sition of these immense artificial mountains. Many fragments of stone—syenite, marble, but chiefly of common limestone—are met with scattered over the whole site. These have most likely been brought to light at no very distant period, as all the building materials of any value were long since removed to be employed in building Old Cairo, and more recently Grand Cairo. The few recent excavations are made by the peasants of the neighbouring villages in quest of bricks to build or repair their cottages. The masses of red granite and marble which they occasionally find are left upon the spot as too unwieldy to be loaded upon their donkeys, and too hard to be easily reduced to more manageable dimensions. I met with two large masses of syenite covered with well-executed hieroglyphics, besides many others wrought into regular forms, and some finely polished. Two or three fragments of granite columns appear towards the eastern part of the field of ruins. The most interesting and important fragment, however, is found in a more central situation, upon one of the alluvial tracts already referred to, in the form of a colossal statue, broken off at the thighs, but still thirty-six feet long. It is prostrate upon the face, which is partially exposed by the excavations that have been made for the purpose, and exhibits the mild and kindly expression so remarkable in much of the Egyptian statuary. This noble monument was nearly buried in the earth, of which, however, it has been so far cleared as to be examined with tolerable convenience and satisfaction. It is to this concealment perhaps, though more probably to its massiveness, that we are indebted for the preservation of so fine a specimen of ancient art, more valuable still as settling, in common with the ruins around it, beyond all reasonable doubt, the disputed question about the site of Memphis.

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the time of the captivity and exodus of the Israelites. It was for many ages—many thousands of years, according to the Egyptian annals—the seat of empire, and, when visited by Strabo, a little before the commencement of our era, was only second to Alexandria—itself the only rival of Rome in extent and population. So complete is now the desolation of this great metropolis, that men hold learned controversies about the spot where it stood, and they appeal to the tombs where the dead were buried in the neighbouring Desert, and not to the habitations reared for living men, for evidence to settle the still vexed question. "Thus saith the Lord God, I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph"—Ezek., xxx., 13—"Noph shall be waste and desolate, without an inhabitant"—Jeremiah, xlvi., 19—is the language of prophecy concerning this great city, uttered when she was at the height of her wealth and power.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Return to Cairo.—Tediousness of the downward Voyage.—Preparation for a Journey through the Desert.—First Ride upon a Camel.—Favourable Result.—Dragomen.—Contract for Camels.—Bedouin Customs.—Diplomatic Forms.—Turkish Coins.—Bazars and Workshops in Cairo.—Bread, Mills.—Bakers.—Caution of Tradesmen.—Regulations of Trade.—Functions of the Sheik.—Apprentices.—Unskilfulness of Mechanics.—Saddlery.—Tanners.—Tailors.—Clumsy Instruments and Workmanship.—Mechanical Genius of the Fellahs.—Timber.—Egyptian Cooks.—Excellence of Egyptian Coffee.—Their Mode of preparing it.—Pipe-making.—Syrian and Egyptian Tobacco.—Water-pots.—Water of the Nile.—Scented Vessels.—Water-carriers.—Bottles.—Spinners.—Weavers.—Government Monopolies.

I REACHED Cairo February 21, a good deal exhausted by the fatigues of my long voyage upon the Nile. The descent of the river from Thebes afforded fewer opportunities for exercise and recreation on shore than I had enjoyed on the upward passage. We had already visited most of

the antiquities and other interesting objects, which exert a sustaining influence upon the health as well as on the mind, until familiarity has impaired their effect. The traveller on this route is then left to the comparative indifference which the constant recurrence of a small number of similar objects, however curious or agreeable in themselves, never fails to produce. I was never more sensible of the good effect of continued mental excitement upon my health, nor of the unpleasant reaction that ensues from pursuits no longer adapted to awaken deep interest.

We returned to the spacious and comfortable lodgings which we had occupied during our first visit to Cairo, and, after a few days of repose, I again found myself in a condition to go out and engage in making preparations for a journey through the Desert, which some unexpected events strongly induced me to attempt. All my doubts upon the subject arose from the feeble state of my health, and the unavoidable fatigues and exposures of a journey of forty days or more upon camels, and as many nights to be passed in a tent. I resolved to test my fitness for the undertaking, as far as practicable, before making a final settlement of the question, and, for this purpose, made an excursion upon a dromedary furnished by a Bedouin sheik, who was encamped on the edge of the Desert, not far beyond the gate of the city. I mounted the grumbling brute with some misgivings, but had the pleasure of finding that the swinging motion produced by his vaulting, ungainly pace, was really less annoying than it appeared to a spectator; and after a ride of three or four hours to Shoubra and its neighbourhood, during which I several times successfully carried the docile animal through the evolutions of stopping and kneeling to allow the ascent and descent of his rider, and as satisfactorily performed myself, those of mounting and dismounting, I returned to my lodgings, cheered with the con-

clusion that I might encounter the fatigues of this novel mode of travelling without much apprehension.

I immediately applied myself to the necessary preparations, which fully occupied the few days I remained in Egypt. Mr. and Mrs. C., my fellow-travellers upon the Nile, were to be of our company to Jerusalem, but our altered circumstances made it necessary that we should be provided with separate outfits. My first care was to procure a servant, and I thought myself fortunate in engaging John, our faithful Coptic dragoman upon the Nile, who had expressed much regret for his misconduct at Assouan, and had nearly effaced the recollection of it by his subsequent fidelity. He was anxious to see Mount Sinai and Jerusalem, and seemed well pleased with the opportunity of making a pilgrimage to these holy places, and at the same time earning fifteen dollars per month, which I readily consented to pay him. He entered upon the necessary arrangements with much zeal, and by the end of the first day we had made much progress in this rather troublesome and tedious undertaking. The next morning he was intoxicated, and remained so for three days. His zeal for becoming a hadji had by that time abated, as had mine for intrusting my comfort in so arduous an enterprise to a man who, with every disposition and qualification to be useful, might fail me at any moment, and even interrupt the progress of my journey. I subsequently hired Ibrahim, a Mohammedan, who had made the tour to Jerusalem with Rev. Drs. Keith and Black of Scotland, and also with our learned countryman, Dr. Edward Roberson. He came to me indifferently recommended, but I had little time or opportunity for farther inquiry.

I hired camels for my journey to Acaba of the sheik who had accompanied me in my first essay in this mode of travelling. His name was Salah, and he belonged to one of the small tribes who reside near Mount Sinai, and are

chiefly employed in transporting passengers and merchandise across the Desert from Cairo. Salah owned but two or three camels himself, and was not distinguished above his associates in dress or equipage, but he bargained for them, and engaged to furnish a dozen or more camels to our party. None but the sheik is known in these contracts, and he is responsible for their faithful performance, as well as for the safety of the property committed to his care. For this responsibility, I understood that he usually receives some commission from his humbler clansmen. We had a written contract made before Mr. Gliddon, the American consul. He dictated the terms in Italian to his dragoman, who wrote it in Arabic, using for the purpose a reed and some thick glazed paper, which he rested upon his knee as he squatted upon the floor to perform his function. I signed my name in the usual way. Salah drew from his girdle a seal with an Arabic motto, and, the dragoman guiding his hand, made the proper impression. The whole was authenticated by the seal of the consulate and the signature of Mr. Gliddon. It is difficult to conjecture what good this formal instrument may do us in the Desert, where none of the parties can read a word of it, and there is nobody to appeal to in case of a misunderstanding. Such, however, is the custom, and it may secure possible advantages; at least, it may restrain the Bedouins, and it costs nothing but a small fee to the consul, who, besides aiding us in making the contract, has given us the benefit of his advice on several other occasions.

We carry Turkish gold coins, which are current, and, indeed, almost the only circulating medium, in Egypt, as well as in Arabia and Syria. The largest pieces are worth nineteen piasters, or nearly one dollar. There is another coin of just half that value, and others still smaller, as thin as fine paper, and hardly the eighth of an inch in diameter. These small pieces are troublesome and very liable to be lost, from

their lightness; but the facility with which Turkish gold may be carried and concealed, renders them preferable to Austrian or Spanish dollars, which are sometimes taken by travellers upon this route. The Egyptians have small copper coins called paras, much used in their petty dealings, and worth one fortieth of a piaster, or a little more than one mill.

I had to pass through several of the bazars, and to visit the shops of different tradesmen, in completing my outfit, which gave me a better opportunity than I had previously enjoyed of observing the various processes employed by different classes of artisans. I set down the result of some of my observations and inquiries upon these subjects, thinking they may interest some of my readers.

Travellers through the Desert must lay in a supply of bread in Cairo sufficient for themselves and servants five or six weeks. Bread of a very inferior quality may be had in Suez, and of a kind still worse at Mount Sinai and Acaba. It is usual to recruit the store in these places if it is likely to prove insufficient for the rest of the journey, and the Egyptian servants are not displeased with the change, as they are accustomed to eat fresh bread, and seem to regard this circumstance more than its quality. That which I obtained in Cairo for this journey was by far the best I saw in Egypt. It was made in the usual form, in cakes four or five inches wide by half an inch thick, and baked by a slow and long process until it became very hard and dry. It remains perfectly good at the end of two or three months, especially when broken into a cup of tea or coffee, the way I more frequently prepared it, and it is decidedly superior to the ship-biscuit often used on long journeys and voyages in the United States.

Wheat is ground in Cairo in small mills worked by buffaloes or oxen. The business of the baker is somewhat different from the same calling with us. The loaves are usually made ready by the customers, and brought at stated hours,

once or twice in the day, to the baker, who places them in his oven, which is always kept heated, and in a few minutes returns them sufficiently baked, for which he receives a small sum. I had to advance money to the baker to purchase flour, as he would not incur such a risk himself, and also to pay him in part in advance for his labour. I inquired why he was so cautious, as he would have the bread for his security till he should receive his pay. His reply was, that he wanted money and not bread, and that I might only intend to make a fool of him. I found this to be the usual practice with tradesmen, who will not do work to the amount of a few piasters without receiving a part of the pay in advance. I sent my boots to a shoemaker to be repaired, by my servant, who soon returned, and asked for four or five piasters, without which the man refused to undertake them.

A particular quarter of the city is assigned to each of the principal trades, where all the persons engaged in that branch pursue their business, and commonly reside with their families. Each of these classes is governed by a chief or sheik of the same profession, who not only possesses authority in all matters pertaining to the craft, but is invested with civil functions, and is held accountable to the government for the maintenance of good order and for the taxes of his corporation. All who aspire to become members of these bodies must serve an apprenticeship with a regular tradesman, and be admitted to the practice of the particular art by the skeik.* These regulations seem not to have been more effectual in Egypt than in other countries where they prevail in producing excellence in the several arts and trades, which, so far as I had opportunity to observe, are universally in the most degraded state. It is inconceivable that men not wholly destitute of mechanical talent should, after serving a long apprenticeship, produce

* See Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians.

such wretched samples of handicraft skill as are seen in all the shops of Cairo. Some of their productions are showy and gay, but, upon a close inspection, the workmanship is always found to be coarse and unskilful. This is particularly the case in articles of saddlery and trappings for horses, which are commonly very splendid in appearance, but always of very inferior execution. The saddle is covered with velvet or broadcloth, richly embroidered with silver and gold, and fringed with a profusion of gay silk tassels. The morocco commonly used for slippers and shoes appears to be well tanned, and is always of a brilliant colour, commonly red or yellow; but the shoemaker betrays an unskilful hand in the performance of his part. The same remark is applicable to the productions of the tailor, whose whole skill is exhausted upon the lavish ornaments of embroidery and silk cord that cover the bosoms and borders of his garments. Tailors are very numerous here, as they make the clothes of women as well as men.

The different workmen in wood whom I had the opportunity of noticing are universally bunglers, seldom equalling in their products the carpenter's work which farmers do about their own premises at their intervals of leisure, or that which is done by the negroes of our southern plantations. They use very few tools, the adze often serving instead of chisel, plane, drawing-knife, saw, &c. The boat-builders seemed to me to use hardly any other tool. They usually squat or kneel down upon the ground, and work upon a low block, having no bench. It is amusing to observe the variety of operations which the carpenters contrive to perform with these simple appliances, using the knees and feet with an adroitness unknown to mechanics who possess a better supply of fixtures and implements. The wood-work, such as doors, windows, ceilings, and floors, in the best Egyptian houses which I entered, betrays the unskilfulness of the carpenter hardly less than the cottages

of the fellahs. They appear to proceed without plan or science, adding piece after piece, as fancy or circumstances may direct. Doors and windows often deviate so much from their proper form and position as grossly to offend the eye, and the walls are seldom plumb.

The fellahs, trained to mechanical pursuits in the shipyards, armories, and other public establishments, are said by the Europeans who have the charge of their labours, to manifest considerable aptness for mere handicraft and pattern-work, but to have no taste or capacity for the higher principles which guide the master artisan; and they never succeed when the task assigned to them demands the exercise of invention or even reflection. Even this small measure of praise supposes a degree of excellence much greater than is exhibited by the mechanics of Cairo, and it is a good deal exaggerated, if I may judge from the samples of skill which I observed among the workmen employed upon the kiosk in the garden of the palace at Shoubra, and upon the new mosque in the citadel of Cairo.

The sycamore and acacia are the timber chiefly used by the carpenter, as they were by the ancient Egyptians. A good deal of timber for ships as well as for houses is imported from Europe.

Those classes of artisans who are employed in ministering to the appetite seem to be quite in advance of the mere mechanic; an evidence, perhaps, of the sensual character of the people. Egyptian cooks possess high reputation, and, so far as I had an opportunity to judge, which was certainly very slight, it is not wholly unmerited. They doubtless surpass all others in their manner of preparing coffee, which is greatly superior to the best we meet with in America, and, I think, decidedly better than is commonly obtained in the coffee-houses of Paris and Vienna. The coffee is parched in an open pan, as with us, very thoroughly, but by a slow and protracted process, so as to avoid giving it a burnt fla-

vour. It is not ground, but pounded in a mortar. In preparing it for use, the proper quantity is put into boiling water and stirred. The vessel is then set upon the fire two or three times till boiling commences, when it is removed. The Egyptians then pour it out without settling. This operation was very well performed by my dragoman, by pouring into the boiling mass a very small quantity of cold water. It is commonly drunk without sugar or cream, though in a few instances it is sweetened. Many Franks adopt the Egyptian custom, and soon learn to prefer this delicious beverage in its unadulterated purity.

The cups in which the Egyptians serve their coffee are not more than one fourth as large as ours. They use no saucers, but the porcelain cup which contains the coffee is placed in another, sometimes of the same material, but commonly of copper, silver, or gold, and often curiously engraved or wrought into a species of network. The coffee is made much stronger in Egypt than with us.

The pipe is always offered to the guest along with coffee, and those who indulge in this luxury, as travellers in the East almost universally do, whatever may have been their previous habits, give to the Egyptian apparatus for smoking, as well as to their tobacco, as decided a preference, as to their coffee. Considerable skill as well as taste is displayed in the amber mouthpiece, with its costly ornaments of gold and precious stones. The bowl is formed of terra cotta of a brown or reddish colour. The long stem is commonly a cherry stick, which retains the bark, and is made straight and bored by mechanics, a numerous and important class of whom are devoted to the fabrication of these indispensable instruments of a luxury much more diffused than any other in this country, which, indeed, may, without any exaggeration, be called universal. The tobacco used by the higher classes is imported from Syria, while, for common use, a cheaper, but still very good kind is grown in the country

It is cut very fine with a broad knife in the shops where it is sold, and its preparation gives employment to a great many persons, who may always be seen [illegible]ing their instrument upon all the principal streets of Cairo. The lower qualities of tobacco are very cheap, while the best sells at five or six, or more piasters the pound.

The Egyptians contrive to make a luxury of water, frugal and temperate as they usually are in their enjoyments. They are very curious and scientific in the fabrication of earthen bottles and jars for filtering and holding it for use. The water of the Nile, which is almost exclusively used, and which is, with good reason, thought by the inhabitants the best in the world, is slightly turbid and of a reddish colour when taken from the river. When freely used in this state, it sometimes produces dysentery, though by no means disagreeable to the taste. It is prepared for drinking by being filtered in immense earthen jars, when it becomes perfectly clear and transparent, and so pure as to answer well for philosophical experiments without distillation—an expensive process in a country so destitute of fuel. A great deal of art is employed in scenting the water-bottles, either in manufacturing them or afterward, in order to give an agreeable flavour to the water. The Egyptians are extravagantly fond of perfumes in their food and drink, as well as upon their clothes and persons. The custom of carrying water for domestic uses from the Nile even to villages and towns situated at a considerable distance from its banks, and of using these earthen vessels exclusively for this, as well as for a vast number of other purposes, has made the fabrication of them one of the most extensive branches of manufacturing industry in the country. It is carried on in all parts of Egypt, and large rafts are seen upon the Nile, formed by placing upon the water a great number of jars inverted and lashed together, in which way they are floated to the markets below.

The same custom gives rise to another occupation, which, in Cairo, employs a vast number of men and animals—that of transporting water from the river to the city. This is necessary throughout the whole year, except at the season of the inundation, when the canal affords a sufficient supply. Many camels are engaged in this service, which are equipped with immense saddle-bags, made of buffaloes' hides, and holding, I should conjecture, a barrel or more, on either side. A still larger number of donkeys are employed, which usually carry two bottles or skins at a time. These hold, perhaps, from eight to twelve gallons each, and are the skins of goats, taken off without making any incision except around the neck. They are prepared by some process of tanning, and, after some use, preserve water extremely well, imparting no bad taste or colour, and keeping it deliciously cool. The traveller, in providing them for his journey over the Desert, should procure such as have been used by the water-carriers. I paid twenty-five piasters apiece for them. The water is sold in Cairo at about one piaster for two skins full. Besides the camels and donkeys, a considerable number of men are employed in bringing water from the river. A still larger number hawk it about the streets in goatskins, and often in jars, carrying a copper cup, with which they present it to those who wish to drink.

Several branches of domestic skill and industry which were formerly much diffused in Egypt, have become extinct, or greatly curtailed, by the operation of the government manufactures. These are all monopolies, with which individual enterprise, if able, would not be allowed to compete. Spinners and weavers especially have been thrown out of employment by the erection of so many mills for the fabrication of cotton and woollen stuffs. The poor people are not permitted to manufacture clothing for themselves, however unable to purchase; and the most severe and even atrocious punishments that have disgraced the administration of the pacha, who is not usually cruel or sanguinary,

have been inflicted upon starving weavers, tempted by want or cupidity to infringe upon the government monopolies. I saw a few poor women engaged in spinning. They use for this purpose no other machinery but a spindle, which they twirl very adroitly with the thumb and finger. Spinning was performed in the same simple manner by the ancient Egyptians, as we learn from the tombs of Beni Hassan.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

The Government of Mohammed Ali.—Opposite Opinions.—Great Talents of the Pacha.—Difficulties and Success.—His Reforms.—Internal Administration.—Civil Divisions of Egypt.—Moudyrs.—Mamoors.—Nazirs.—Their Functions.—Higher Officers Foreigners.—Their Fidelity to the Pacha and Oppression of the People.—Tyranny of Native Officers.—Universal Dread of the Pacha.—Frank Courtesy.—Security of Travellers.—Wrongs of the Fellahs.—Their Abjectness.—Conduct of Travellers.—Judiciary.—Bribery and Perjury Universal.—Military System of Egypt.—Albanian Soldiers.—Negro Troops.—Col. Seve.—Mameluke Officers and Camp at Assouan.—Frightful Mortality among the Black Troops.—Impressment of the Fellahs.—The Egyptian Army.—Statistics.—Pressure upon the Country.—Armies of Europe.—The Conscription and its Abuses.—Desperation of the People.—The Fellahs good Soldiers.—Immunities of the Army.—Uniform.—The Pacha's Schools a Part of his Military System.—Branches taught.—Primary Schools.—Their Plan and Objects.—Opposition of the Parents.—Character of the Elevés.—European Officers.—Tariff of Pay.—The French in Egypt.—Solyman Pacha.—Manufactures.—Policy of the Pacha.—Losses.—The Causes.—Patriotic Effusion.—Decline of Agriculture.—Financial Talents of Mohammed Ali.—His Revenue.—Its Sources.—Land Tax.—The Pacha the sole Proprietor.—High Taxes.—Various Impositions.—Misconduct of the Publicans.—Anecdote.—Monopolies.—Enormous Taxation.—Collection of the Revenue.—The Bastinado.—Stupid Obstinacy of the Fellahs.—Legal Process.—Opinion of Mohammed Ali's Government.—Effects of his Reforms and Improvements.—Selfishness of his Policy.—His Learned Men.—Demoralization of the People.—Intemperance.—Ibrahim Pacha.—Rapid Progress in Vice.—Influence of Innovation on the Opinions of the People.—Contempt for Christianity.—Causes.—Prospective Advantages.

I HAVE frequently had occasion to refer to Mohammed Ali and his administration, and it may be expected that, be-

fore taking leave of Egypt, I should speak more fully of his political and economical system, and its influence upon the present condition and prospects of that country. If we may judge from the contradictory statements constantly put forth by intelligent men, it is no easy matter to form correct opinions on this subject; and the best informed persons have reasons to distrust those which they have derived from careful observation and inquiry. Intelligent Franks, long resident in the country, and holding responsible official stations there, have arrived at the most opposite conclusions, and may be said to form two parties: the one unqualified admirers of the pacha and his policy; the other regarding him as a selfish and unscrupulous tyrant, more daring and enterprising, but not a better ruler than the other semi-barbarous despots of the East. All, however, concede to him the possession of great talents and of amazing energy of character; and he will certainly go down to posterity as the most remarkable man of the present age. He has not only raised himself from obscurity to supreme authority—no very uncommon achievement in uncivilized countries—but he has raised Egypt, a remote and secondary province of the Turkish Empire, to be the ruling power of the Levant. He has reduced the grand seignior, with all his vast resources, to the brink of ruin, and produced a crisis in the affairs of the world so momentous as to provoke the great powers of Europe to interpose with their diplomacy and arms. It is but justice to ascribe these grand results to the personal qualities of the pacha, rather than to any concurrence of circumstances peculiarly favourable to the success of an adventurer. From the day of his arrival in Egypt, forty-two years since, a subaltern in the corps of Albanians sent by the Sultan of Turkey to defend that country against the French, he has been thrown upon the resources of his own genius, and no man was ever less indebted to fortune for the attainment of eminent success. He obtained the vice-royalty by the sword, and he has maintained himself in that

elevated position to the present time by a protracted struggle, first with his predecessor and rival, Kourschid Pacha, afterward with England, the Mamelukes, and the Porte; and, finally, against the combined efforts of Europe recently employed to re-establish the dominion of Turkey, by a rare combination of military and political talents.

It is, however, as a statesman and a reformer—as the regenerator of Egypt, that Mohammed Ali claims the admiration of his contemporaries, and seeks to be known to posterity. Before his accession to power, that country had for ages been subject to something more than the ordinary evils of Turkish sway, under the oppressive rule of the Mamelukes, who paid tribute to the sultan, but were left in all things else to the exercise of an unlimited authority over the resources and people of this unhappy country.*

Mohammed Ali had no sooner disposed of the more pressing duties which self-preservation and the establishment of his authority imposed upon him, than he applied himself vigorously to provide for the internal wants of his fruitful, but neglected domain. He replaced the anarchical and inefficient though oppressive system of the Mamelukes by a new organization, not unlike that which prevails in the absolute governments of Europe. Reserving to himself in everything, absolute, untrammelled authority, he called to his aid, in the several departments, ministers and administrative councils, through whose assistance he was able to centralize and combine the various powers of government, which had hitherto been exercised over different parts of the country by beys and pachas, independent and often hostile, without system or responsibility. He divided the whole of Egypt into seven provinces, which were subdivided into departments, and again into smaller jurisdictions, each under

* For several of the facts and statistics contained in this chapter I am indebted to the recent work of Clot Bey. I have mostly relied, however, on my own inquiries.

its appropriate officers, respectively denominated moudyrs, mamoors, and nazirs. These officers represent the pacha and execute his will in their several spheres; for which purpose they are invested with a share of his absolute authority. Each village, too, has its sheik, who maintains a proper police, settles small controversies, and does the pacha's will within his precinct.

The moudyrs have a general oversight of the subordinate functionaries, and hold them to a faithful performance of their respective duties. They are Turks, and are represented as rapacious, tyrannical, and destitute of all sympathy for the people. The mamoors, who are natives, and sometimes Christians, have the supervision of agriculture, prescribe the kind and extent of tillage to each village, superintend the collection of taxes, the pacha's manufactories, the raising of recruits for the army, &c. The lower officers are collectors as well as policemen, and while they rigorously exact from the fellahs the dues of the government, they are themselves held responsible to the higher powers and subjected to the bastinado for all the delinquencies that occur in their petty realms.

It is generally understood that the government officers are appointed to look after the interests of the pacha, and if these are made secure, whether by fair means or foul, not much regard is paid to their modes of exercising power. All unfaithfulness or dishonesty towards the great employer is punished with inexorable rigour, while the most grievous exactions upon the poor fellahs seldom meet with so much as a rebuke. These lower functionaries exercise the power of life and death within their jurisdiction in the most arbitrary manner, having no other guide than their own will or caprice, either in estimating the guilt or in fixing the measure or the mode of the punishment of offenders.

The native Egyptians, when invested with power, are said to have less sympathy for their own race than even the Turks. All, however, through interest or fear, are faith-

ful to the pacha. Peculation is of very rare occurrence, and when discovered it is never pardoned. Slight infractions on the government monopolies, or petty thefts upon the pacha's property, which, in the multiplicity of his agricultural and industrial enterprises, is much exposed in all parts of the country, are almost invariably punished with death. Unlike the government of Turkey and other semi-barbarous powers, which is strong in and near the capital, but feeble or contemptible in the remoter provinces, the name of the pacha carries terror to the uttermost limits of his dominions, and the peasant is subjected to exactions as exorbitant, and the employé of the government is held to an accountability as rigid, upon the borders of Nubia as at the gates of Alexandria or Cairo.

The great political talents of Mohammed Ali are in nothing more conspicuous than in the ubiquity of his influence and authority. This is a standing compliment with the Franks who are admitted to his presence, who seldom fail to thank him for the perfect protection which his name has afforded them even among the robbers of the Desert, and express their admiration of a system of government so perfect that purses of gold may safely be left hanging upon the bushes, as in the good days of King Alfred. They too often forget that this transformation of Egyptian character has been produced by great severities, and especially that this new-born respect for strangers, which invests an excursion to Thebes and the cataracts with so much security and satisfaction, is maintained by means debasing to the entire people of Egypt. The fellahs, who formerly robbed the defenceless traveller, have no longer the courage to resent the grossest insults or to resist the most flagrant injuries, if perpetrated by a Frank. I had scarcely landed in Egypt before I was advised that I must provide myself with a corbash—a long, heavy thong, made of the thick, hard skin of the hippopotamus, as the best means of securing the respect of the people; and during my

subsequent residence in the country, I had many proofs that my countryman, to whom I was indebted for this well-intended advice, was by no means singular in his opinion. Nearly every Frank boat was provided with this hateful scourge as the means of maintaining discipline among the sailors, and I many times saw it used in the streets of Cairo and elsewhere without reserve or mercy. I several times saw single, unarmed Franks use the corbash upon a crowd of fellahs without provoking a show of resistance, and in more instances than one I knew a Frank to flog soldiers who held muskets in their hands with fixed bayonets, and yet made no opposition to an outrage so intolérable, except by running away as fast as they were able. The officers of the government look upon such deeds without even a remonstrance, and in some instances I have reason to know they have justified and applauded the perpetrators. I have generally heard these lawless acts defended upon the plea of necessity. There is no other way, it is said, of getting along with a people so degraded. Whatever may be thought of this plea, tame submission to such injuries, which, in any other country, would provoke deadly and inextinguishable resentment, is proof enough of the grinding tyranny under which the heart of these people is broken and their spirit extinguished.

The civil jurisprudence of Egypt is exercised by a cadi, or chief judge, at Cairo, and by subordinate tribunals in the smaller towns and provinces. As the civil law in this as well as other Mohammedan countries is derived from the Koran, the cadi is esteemed a religious functionary, and, as such, derives his appointment from the Sultan of Turkey, who is still acknowledged by the pacha in his spiritual authority, though his political power is annihilated. This officer is appointed for only one year. He buys his commission at Constantinople, and indemnifies himself by exactions and bribes at Cairo. Nothing can exceed the prof-

ligacy of Mohammedan judges, unless, perhaps, the corruptness of witnesses, who are as generally suborned as the judges are bribed. It is well understood that in all but the plainest cases, where the dread of reproach or infamy may operate as some restraint, the decision will be made in favour of the party who gives the largest bribe. Fortunately, in a country so little advanced in wealth and civilization, few important interests are litigated, and the business of the civil courts is mostly restricted to questions about inheritances, marriages, divorce, &c. Courts of justice are, however, no more corrupt in Egypt than they have ever been under the Turkish rule; and the civil administration of the pacha, exacting, stern, and inexorable as it is, can hardly be worse; it is probably better, and attended with fewer enormities, than was the capricious, unstable, and inefficient dominion of the Mamelukes. The people submit to it with reluctance and many complaints, but I am not aware that they have ever made any serious attempts to resist. They are prone to obedience and servility, whoever may claim their allegiance, and too spiritless to make a manly effort to redress the injuries inflicted upon them by their rulers.

The military system of Mohammed Ali is far more odious to the people than any other part of his administration. The fellahs manifest a universal and invincible repugnance to service in the army and navy, and this feeling is so strong as often to have overcome their constitutional and habitual tendency to passive submission, and provoke them to acts of opposition and violence. The pacha, who had gained Egypt by a combination of force and craft, very early felt the want of disciplined and faithful soldiers. They were alike indispensable for the maintenance of his new and difficult position, and for the ulterior designs which his ambition meditated.

The Albanians, his compatriots, and the instruments of his promotion, though brave, were mutinous and impatient

of discipline, nor would it be practicable to increase their numbers or recruit their ranks when thinned by war or time, especially in case of a rupture with Turkey, which could not be regarded improbable or distant. The Mamelukes had been sacrificed to his unscrupulous policy, and no longer existed as a separate corps. The natives of Egypt had long been esteemed unfit for any but agricultural employments, to which they seemed to be doomed by an unpitying destiny, and the viceroy only followed the example of his predecessors in wresting from this unhappy peasantry the fruits of their toil, to be employed in maintaining a military force, recruited, at a great expense, in the slave-markets of Africa, and in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The first fifteen years of his administration had now demonstrated the necessity of change in this department, and he formed the bold design of creating a large army, to be organized and trained upon the European plan. As the first step in this novel enterprise, he collected five hundred of the remnants of the brave Mamelukes into a camp formed for the purpose at Assouan, and appointed Colonel Seve, an able soldier of the army of Napoleon, to the difficult task of instructing them in such arts and exercises as might qualify them to become the officers of the new army. Three years were employed in this preparatory work, in which Colonel Seve encountered and overcame all the obstacles that ignorance, prejudice, and fanaticism could array against him. At the end of this period thirty thousand negroes were brought into Egypt from Kordofan and Sennaar, recently subjected to the dominion of the pacha, upon the Upper Nile. These barbarians were organized by Colonel Seve and his élèves, who spent another year in initiating them into military habits and exercises. This promising attempt proved a complete failure. The African levies turned out to be unfit for the services of the camp, and at the

end of little more than a year, disease had made such havoc in their ranks, that, of the thirty thousand men who had descended the Nile, only as many hundred were left alive. This unparalleled mortality was ascribed to their desire of returning to their native country, rather than to any inaptitude for their new profession, to which they showed no particular repugnance.

Baffled in all his efforts to create an army of foreign recruits, the viceroy resolved to rely in future upon the native population of Egypt, of whom thirty thousand were seized in the fields and villages, and subjected to military discipline, under the officers already formed by Colonel Seve, and a large number of Frenchmen and Italians who had sought employment in Egypt on the reduction of the European armies which followed the downfall of Napoleon. This attempt has been eminently successful, and Mohammed Ali has at this moment the best native army, so far as discipline and science are concerned, which has existed in the Levant since the fall of the Eastern Empire. It is organized and trained throughout according to the French military system, and embraces infantry, artillery, and cavalry, in due proportions.

Including nearly thirty thousand men from Albania and other Turkish provinces, and from Arabia, who still remain in the pacha's service, his regular army now amounts to the enormous number of one hundred and eighty thousand men, besides nearly fifty thousand militia, or national guards, subjected to military organization and training in Cairo, Alexandria, and some other large towns. Excluding these from the enumeration, as well as the fifteen or twenty thousand workmen in the government manufacturing establishments, who, in these threatening times, are also under military training, and embracing the men employed on board the fleet and in the arsenals, we have, as the result, considerably more than two hundred thousand men who consti-

tute the regular military establishment of Egypt. Unquestionably this is the largest army that ever oppressed and impoverished a country containing not more than two millions of human beings. It constitutes one tenth of the entire population; one fifth of all the males; and more than half of the men who are effective either for military duty or the toils of agriculture. These are torn away from their homes, and sent to fight in Syria, Cyprus, and Arabia, and they are clothed, equipped, fed, and paid by the reluctant and forced industry of the bereaved families of women, children, and old men, who drag out a half-sustained existence in the fields and villages of the Nile.

In Austria, the military is reckoned to constitute a hundredth part of the whole population. In France there is one soldier to one hundred and ten souls. In Prussia, the most military country in Europe, the proportion is one to sixty-eight. These are the proportions exhibited by the muster-rolls of these several countries, which always exaggerate the number of the military class, and yet the burden of supporting standing armies is the great theme of dissatisfaction and complaint in the wealthy countries of Europe. How the fellahs of Egypt, without capital, or trade, or machinery, or property of any kind—a mere herd of naked and indolent slaves, toiling reluctantly under taskmasters, can support the burden of the pacha's military establishment, is a problem quite incomprehensible to a stranger, and one not easily explained by the traveller, who, having traversed the land from Migdol to Syene, has had ocular proof that men may live in this benignant climate without clothing, or furniture, or houses, and almost without food; that the most prolific soil in the world yields to the cultivator its teeming increase twice or thrice in the year, and that, in the providence of God, the destinies of this doomed country are, for a season, committed to the hands of a rapacious tyrant, endowed with intelligence and

energy so terrible that he can rescue from the craving appetite of the labourer every crumb not indispensably necessary to prolong his existence and his toil.

The mode employed in recruiting the army adds greatly to the burden of the system and to the invincible repugnance of the Egyptians to the military service. It seems probable, however, that such a system could not be carried out but by the most grievous oppressions. When a new levy of troops has been resolved upon, the moudyr or mamoor is notified of the will of the viceroy, and of the number of troops to be supplied by his district. Some estimate is made by him of the quota of the respective cantons, and recruiting officers are despatched with bands of soldiers to enforce the levy. They proceed as secretly as possible in the discharge of their duty, and endeavour to make a dash upon the villages before any notice is had of their approach or of the designs of the government. All the males fit for military service are usually seized and conducted to the nearest rendezvous, where a surgeon selects the prescribed number of the most healthy and robust young men, without reference to anything but their fitness for the duties of the camp. The old, the infirm, and the halt, few others being left, are sent back to the toils of the field, and the chosen youth are marched on board the boat that is to bear them to headquarters, amid the lamentations of parents, wives, and children. They are usually handcuffed or otherwise confined till they have proceeded so far as to lose all hope of making their escape.

When intelligence of the intended visit of the recruiting officer reaches the village before his arrival, all the able-bodied men usually flee to the Desert, where they conceal themselves till they are seized and brought in by the Bedouins, who receive a reward from the government, or until the hated pressgang has accomplished its work, and retired from the district. This may not occur in several weeks;

and it often happens that the peasant is thus banished from his fields in seed-time or harvest, when the loss of a few days involves the loss of a crop. When the demand for soldiers is very urgent, the older and more infirm men are taken in the absence of the young and vigorous; but more commonly they are only bastinadoed for the delinquency of their runaway sons.

It is no unusual occurrence for men thus forced into the ranks of the army, under the influence of despair or rage, to cut off some fingers, or a hand, with a hatchet, so as to disable themselves for the service, and in the hope of procuring a discharge. This mutilation, however, has more usually been made in childhood by the provident parent, and few young men are seen in the villages who have not lost an eye, some teeth, or several fingers from the right hand through this parental forecast and affection.

This strong repugnance of the fellahs to the army gradually subsides, it is said, as they become accustomed to their new duties; and, after a season of moping and despondency, they generally become satisfied, and even fond of the service. The idleness of a soldier's life proves agreeable to their indolent dispositions. They find themselves better provided with food and clothing, and more secure from oppression, than they were in the distant rural village. A great many of them marry, which the pacha encourages, with the view of reconciling them to the army, as well as to prevent the fatal influence upon the population which must otherwise result from withdrawing one half of the able-bodied men of the country from domestic life. A village of mud-built hovels, or rather burrows, rising a few feet above the ground, and entered by a hole in the side, is always seen close to the barracks. These are occupied by the wives of the soldiers, and such assemblages of filthy, degraded, wretched-looking females are surely to be seen nowhere else in the world. The children receive rations and half pay from the govern-

ment. The soldiers' pay amounts to about nine dollars per annum, which, however, he never receives at the proper time, and in many instances not at all. Still he is clothed and fed, which is more than his early habits have taught him to regard as indispensable.

The Egyptian uniform consists of the red cap, a close jacket, and large Turkish trousers, which descend loose to the knee, below which they are fitted close to the leg like gaiters. The common slippers of the country are worn instead of shoes, and a broad girdle is tied around the waist. This dress, without being European, is commodious, and well adapted to the occupations of the soldier. His weapons are European.

The fellahs, after a season of training, are transformed into obedient, hardy, and brave soldiers. They have proved an overmatch for the Turks in every encounter, and would be equal to the best European troops but for the moral infirmity entailed upon them by servile habits, and from having been kept in a state of degrading subjection to the Franks who reside in or visit Egypt. I have never seen more formidable corps than some of the veteran regiments who have made campaigns in Arabia and Syria.

The various schools established and supported by Mohammed Ali ought to be considered along with his military establishments, of which, indeed, they form an integral and essential part, neither having nor being intended to have any more connexion with the education of the people and the general diffusion of knowledge, than have the armories and founderies for cannon which form parts of the same system. This remark is the more necessary, as the pacha is often represented as the restorer of learning in Egypt—a second Alfred, who gladly turns aside from the toils of war and the cares of state, to found universities and court philosophy.

The higher schools, of which a considerable number are now in operation, are devoted to preparing young Egyptians

for the public service either in the army and navy, or in the manufacturing establishments of the viceroy. There are schools of engineering, of cavalry, of infantry, of medicine and surgery, of veterinary medicine, of agriculture, and of arts and trades. They are conducted by Europeans, commonly by Frenchmen, and the entire expense is defrayed by the government. History, mathematics, geography, drawing, the Turkish and French languages, and, in some instances, the Persian language, are embraced in the course of study.

A number of the most promising pupils have been sent to Europe for the completion of their education, and appointed on their return to responsible posts in the army and navy, as under-teachers in the schools, directors in the factories, arsenals, &c. The other élèves are also appointed to such functions in the public service as their attainments and abilities may fit them to discharge.

These higher institutions receive their pupils from primary schools, established in most of the towns for the purpose of preparing a given number of boys for the more liberal course of instruction which I have just described. The Egyptians manifest the same repugnance to giving up their sons to be educated in the pacha's schools as they do for the army, and they resort to the same atrocious means of disqualifying them for this purpose. The proper officer is, at stated seasons, sent forth into the towns and villages to select the candidates for literary and subsequent military and political distinction. The boys of from eight to ten years of age are inspected, and the most approved for physical or intellectual development are torn away from their unwilling parents, to be subjected to the proper training. They are said to possess considerable aptness to learn, but seldom overcome their reluctance and distaste for a career into which they are dragged by the strong hand of power, though their prospects and condition in life are always greatly improved.

The best products of these schools are said not to make good officers. They retain the bearing and sentiments that belong to their race, though ready enough to lose all sympathy with it, and seem incapable of commanding. With a very few exceptions, all but the lower grades of office are filled with Turks and other foreigners, though the pupils of the schools are compelled to remain in the public service. An intelligent Frenchman, who is at the head of one of the military schools, said to an acquaintance of mine, "These youths are brought here by force, and they retain the spirit of detenus and slaves. They learn only by compulsion, and yet I am expected to achieve the impossible task of making good officers of them."

There are about ten thousand boys under instruction, who are all taught, lodged, sustained, and paid at the expense of the viceroy. He is said frequently to manifest symptoms of impatience at the heavy charge imposed upon the treasury, and especially at the prolonged necessity of employing European teachers upon high salaries. He seems incapable of comprehending why his young fellahs, after a proper course of instruction, should be unable to conduct the schools and his other establishments; and in several instances he has removed Europeans from responsible stations in order to fill them with the more distinguished élèves of his schools. This experiment has not succeeded, and it seems probable either that the Egyptian race will prove incapable of rising to high destinies, or that a much longer period must be allowed for their gradual improvement.

This incapacity threatens to defeat one part of his favourite plan—that of rendering himself independent of foreign aid, and of reducing the pay of his higher officers. At present he pays at a high rate, considering the value of money in Egypt, and must do so to attach competent men to his service. The pay of a soldier is nine dollars per an-

num; of a captain, three hundred dollars; of a major, fifteen hundred dollars; of a brigadier, seven thousand dollars per annum.

It is chiefly to the French officers attached to his service that Mohammed Ali is indebted for the efficiency of his army and navy, as well as of his subordinate establishments. They possess, beyond the natives of any other country, the power of adapting themselves to the habits, character, and wants of the people among whom their lots are cast, and they seem more fully to identify themselves with the interests to the promotion of which their time and talents are devoted. Many of the French in Egypt possess high attainments and talents, and they exercise a commanding influence. Colonel Seve, now a Mohammedan and a pacha, has been for many years the real commander of the army, to whom it is indebted for its organization and discipline, for its character and victories. It must be admitted that, with all their devotion to the pacha and his enterprises, they usually manifest very little sympathy for the people. He is their hero, the great man of the age, and the advancement of his schemes constitutes, in their eyes, the improvement and the regeneration of Egypt.

The manufactories, of which Mohammed Ali has introduced a great number into Egypt, are to be regarded in the same light as his educational establishments—as subsidiary to his military and naval armaments. They are employed in fabricating clothing, arms, and ammunition for the army and fleet, and for the production of other fabrics deemed necessary for the realization of the pacha's favourite scheme of rendering Egypt independent of the rest of the world, or which it is thought may become sources of profit. These establishments belong to the government, and are strict monopolies, guarded by severe laws. They consist of manufactories of cotton, wool, silk, red caps, cordage, saltpetre and powder, cannon and small arms, sugar, indigo, and oil

The different processes are conducted by the fellahs, under the superintendence of Europeans.

With the exception of perhaps sugar, oil, and one or two minor products, these enterprises have proved to be bad speculations, and they are kept up at a large annual loss. Egypt has few advantages for a manufacturing country. It possesses no water-power, and no fuel for working steam-engines, for which buffaloes or oxen are substituted. The fine dust which fills the air spoils machinery, all of which must be brought from Europe, as must also timber for the construction of the necessary buildings. There are no mines of iron or other metals, and those sciences and arts upon which the success of such enterprises depend, have here no existence. The fellahs, in the absence of all interest, and dragged into this service as they are into the army, tardily as well as poorly paid, and scantily fed, lack all the motives that prompt to the exercise of the skill, care, and industry indispensable to success.

These establishments are conducted at a loss of about forty per cent., which the pacha thinks it well to incur for the sake of the political and other advantages expected to result from his policy. He sometimes claims the honour of being actuated by higher motives. "What boon," said he to a gentleman, who reported the conversation to me—"What boon can I confer upon the people of Egypt in return for their contributions to my treasury, and for many sacrifices, if I do not endow their country with these establishments, the elements of future independence?" A boon, this, of the same kind with the other benefits conferred by the viceroy upon this devoted land. The fellah enjoys the privilege of paying three piasters the yard instead of two, for the coarse blue cotton of which his shirt is made. Tyrants, it seems, sometimes indulge in patriotic effusions.

The worst objection to the system is found in its influence upon agriculture, the great natural interest of Egypt.

The whole population is insufficient to cultivate the rich soil with which, above all other lands, she is endowed, and the most effective portion of it is drawn away to fight the battles of the viceroy. By a blunder in political economy, more egregious than rare, another large portion of the operative strength of the country is diverted from its natural employments to the creation of fabrics which might be obtained from abroad on terms greatly more favourable, as respects both quality and price.

Mohammed Ali does not often commit palpable blunders in matters affecting the receipts of his treasury; and the skill and success with which he has contrived to extort from the people and soil of Egypt the enormous sums expended upon his various enterprises, peaceful and warlike, must secure to him the reputation of a great financier, as well as that of a terrible oppressor. His revenue is variously estimated at twelve, fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five millions of dollars. In the absence of accurate official returns, nothing more than an approximation to the exact amount can be obtained by strangers. Mr. Larking, the English consul, thinks it may amount to four millions sterling, or about twenty millions of dollars. I am disposed to pay great deference to his opinion. Few men have enjoyed equal opportunities of becoming acquainted with Egypt, and the utmost reliance may be placed upon his veracity.

It would be impossible to derive this enormous sum from two millions of poor peasants, by any mere system of taxation, however oppressive; and the viceroy, as early as the year 1808, soon after the establishment of his power, laid the foundation of the ample revenue which he now enjoys, by dispossessing the ancient landholders, and making himself sole proprietor of the soil of Egypt. From that time his receipts ought rather to be considered rents than the proceeds of a land-tax: or, more properly, Egypt is an immense slave plantation, worked for the pacha's sole benefit,

under the vigilant supervision of his overseers, who prescribe to the cultivator how many acres he is to plant in wheat, doura, or cotton, sometimes furnish seed, stock, and implements of husbandry, and receive the products of his labour at the time of harvest, leaving only enough, and often not enough, behind, for the most scanty maintenance of his family.

A considerable portion of the soil of Egypt appertained to the Mamelukes and the other rulers who preceded the present viceroy; but it was left to his daring spirit and strong hand to seize upon the whole in defiance of laws held sacred by his religion, as well as by the common sentiments of mankind. He granted small annuities from the treasury to the deprived landholders and to the religious and charitable foundations, which he likewise stripped of their endowments.

The land-tax amounts, on the average, to a little less than two dollars per acre. A larger sum is paid for the best land, and proportionably less for that of a poorer quality. This nominally low rent will be regarded very high when the value of money and the price of agricultural products are considered. Wheat, in the country villages, is usually worth about twenty-five cents per bushel, and other products in proportion.

Besides the direct tax on land, all its productions are made to contribute largely to the emolument of the treasury. The labourer himself pays a capitation tax equal to one twelfth of his estimated income, which is levied upon all males twelve years old and upward. The Persian wheel, by which water is raised from the Nile to irrigate the fields, is taxed, as I was informed, about fifteen dollars. The cattle that graze upon the well-taxed land pay a distinct contribution, each ox, or cow, or buffalo, twenty piasters, and seventy when sold to the butcher, who must also deliver the skin to the tax-receiver. Sheep and goats pay

four piasters each. Another impost is levied on palm-trees, which pay from one to two piasters, according to their products from year to year. So vigilant and minute is the inspection which extends to the most inconsiderable interest.

The native Christians pay a tax for their privilege of toleration; but they get more than an equivalent in the exemption from military service which they enjoy. This imposition varies, according to the wealth and profession, from fifteen to five hundred piasters.

When all of these smaller contributions have been paid, the peasant is exposed to another grievous burden in the sale of his products. With very few exceptions, he must deliver these to the agents of the government, at prices fixed by the pacha, and under various burdensome conditions, which ensure his being completely impoverished by the lower agents of tyranny, if, indeed, the great robber has left anything to tempt their cupidity. Doura, and sometimes wheat, beans, &c., are left to be disposed of at the common market price, as being too bulky and cumbrous to pass through the government storehouses. The prices of these, however, are often arbitrarily fixed and changed by the viceroy, who is always in the market as buyer or seller, so that this seeming boon is more frequently a snare to the poor fellah.

I heard a well-authenticated anecdote, which serves to show the little regard paid by the pacha to even commercial principles in his officious interference with all the interests of the people. In his early youth Mohammed Ali was janizary, a low executive officer and sort of factotum, in the service of a British consul in Turkey. Among other ways of being useful, or for his own amusement, he was accustomed to play with the children, who became much attached to him. One of these boys is now a merchant in the Levant, and he called on the pacha a few years since,

having been drawn to Egypt on business. The old janizary expressed great satisfaction at the interview, and, in a style befitting his present exaltation, asked Mr. —— what he could do to oblige him. Mr. —— told him that he was a merchant, and had been led to Egypt in the course of his business. "I intend," said the pacha, "to raise the price of wheat in a few days. Go into the bazars, and buy as much as you please." The merchant followed this sagacious counsel, and realized a large sum of money.

Cotton, silk, rice, sugar-cane, opium, henneh, saffron, flax, and other seeds, indigo, wax, honey, and many other valuable agricultural products, are strict monopolies, and only to be sold to the government. A tax, amounting commonly to a sum equal to the first cost, is paid upon the wheat and other bread-stuffs sold in the large towns. Impositions are also levied on mats and ropes made of the palm-tree, on the fisheries and boats of the Nile, and on dancers and musicians. Salt, coffee, sugar, tea, and tobacco are monopolies, as are the products of the various manufactories, which are all sold in the shops for the benefit of the revenue.

I have enumerated the principal sources from which, together with the duties imposed on merchandise imported by sea and by the caravans from Abyssinia, Barbary, and interior Africa, is derived an annual revenue amounting to nearly or quite ten dollars per head for every inhabitant of Egypt. Making due allowance for the difference in the value of money and products, the taxes levied in this country cannot be estimated at less than five or six times as high as are paid by the most taxed countries in the world, England, Holland, and France. This disparity will be much enhanced if we take into the account the capital, mines, machinery, stock in trade, &c., belonging to those rich countries, from which, no less than from land and labour, the public revenue is derived.

The vexatious modes of collection add still more to the

intolerable burden: the rapacity of the knavish and irresponsible publicans; the frequent resort to severe corporeal punishments as the means of enforcing payment, and the universal practice of holding individuals and villages, who have satisfied the demands of government against themselves, responsible for the arrears due from others.

The bastinado is the common law process for collecting the revenue, without which, it is said, no progress can be made in obtaining the dues of the treasury among this singular people. The fellahs who have money in their pockets often will not produce it until they have been subjected to a merciless beating, upon the plea that if they show too much readiness to pay, it will be thought they have plenty of money, and they will be liable to more exactions. This stupid peculiarity is ascribed by an ancient writer to the early Egyptians, and I had supposed that it was probably attributed to the fellahs of the present day without any very good reason. I was repeatedly assured, however, that nothing is more common than instances of such obstinacy, of which any one might easily satisfy himself by loitering occasionally about the tribunals and public offices. I did not choose to have ocular demonstration of the continued prevalence of this venerable usage, but a gentleman of my acquaintance, who happened, during my stay in Cairo, to have business at the citadel, witnessed an exhibition of this singular process for collecting the revenue. A fellah declared, with many protestations, that he was unable to pay his tax, amounting, I think, to fifteen or twenty piasters. He was ordered by the proper functionary to receive a certain number of blows upon the soles of his feet, which were inflicted with such skill and violence as to extort the most piteous groans and exclamations. The sufferer, upon being released, was unable, for a considerable time, to stand upon his feet. When at length he was able to advance towards the magistrate's seat, he was asked again if he would pay his

tax. He reaffirmed, with many solemn protestations, his utter inability to comply with the demand. A punishment still more severe was immediately ordered. The poor man was again laid upon his face and held down by two soldiers, while the practised operator returned to his task with increased vigour and spirit. The culprit struggled and screamed as in the last agonies, and finally swooned before the claims of justice were satisfied. After some time had elapsed, he recovered so far as to be able to hobble up to the tribunal, where he kissed the hand of the officer and thanked him for his great lenity, promising to bring the money and pay the demands of the government without any farther delay.

The fellah who endures a great number of blows before yielding to pay his taxes, is thought to have obtained a measure of security against exorbitant exactions; and this sort of heroism is much applauded.

I have at different times, during the progress of this journal, spoken freely of the government of Mohammed Ali, and in the present chapter have treated of the different features and results of his policy at greater length and in more detail. From all that I have been able to observe, or learn from others, I am constrained to believe that his entire system and administration is more tyrannical and oppressive than any with which history has made us acquainted, either in ancient or modern times. I was his unqualified admirer before I visited Egypt; and the prospect of seeing, with my own eyes, the magic improvements with which his creative genius and enlightened policy were enriching and beautifying this classic land, threw an attraction over my contemplated tour, only inferior to that which it borrowed from the associations that cluster around the Pyramids. During my journey on the Nile, and my sojourn in Alexandria and Cairo, I was a careful observer and diligent inquirer, and I have expressed above the conclusions which I have thus

been led to form. Were I required to particularize a single advantage which the people of Egypt have received from this great reformer, I should be at a loss to mention one. He has built many magnificent edifices, has introduced schools, revived commerce, created manufactures, an army, and a navy. He has shown a vast genius and mighty energies; but every one of his improvements, and every display of his gigantic talents, has entailed additional and more grievous burdens upon the country, till at length the inevitable exhaustion has ensued, and reaction is taking place. Population has diminished under the conscription; the revenues have fallen off through the natural operation of monopolies, and agriculture is failing for want of hands. The immense creations of the pacha remain; his palaces, his factories, his arsenals, his navy and army, to press upon the resources of the country with increasing and ruinous severity, and ultimately to perish for want of the support which Egypt, however oppressed and robbed, can by no possibility be made to yield them.

The policy of the pacha is exclusively selfish: it means only his own aggrandizement. The élèves of his schools are never found dispensing light or healing in the villages. The savans whom he has imported from Europe in such numbers, teach no philosophy for the people. They have studied only to give the comprehension, and unity, and details, which the rude genius of the pacha was incompetent to impart to a system made so effective and terrible by his barbarian energy. The blindest infidel may see in the present condition of the country the literal fulfilment of prophecy—"the basest of kingdoms," diminished, doomed, "no more to rule over the nations."

In the mean time, the moral influences of the pacha's administration are only beginning to develop themselves. The tendencies are observable enough, but it is impossible to conjecture what may be the final results upon the people of

Egypt. It is universally asserted by intelligent residents, that their morals have deteriorated and their general character been degraded under this blasting, omnipresent tyranny, which intermeddles with every pursuit and presses upon the heart of every family. The unhappy victims instinctively resort to evasion, deception, and falsehood for protection against the thousand forms of wrong to which they are exposed. Multitudes, especially the labourers employed in the plantations and manufactories of the government, are driven to petty thefts as their only means of sustaining life. The unnatural cruelties perpetrated to secure their offspring against the conscription must speedily tinge their hitherto gentle and humane dispositions with cannibal ferocity.

The influx of foreigners, and the adoption of their institutions and arts have likewise tended to the relaxation of morals. Under the influence of these new and unequal associations, a great many of the high officers of the government and the principal inhabitants have learned to contemn the stricter tenets of Mohammedanism, and indulge in the amusements, luxuries, and vices of Europeans. Drunkenness, formerly unknown in Egypt beyond the degree of excitement induced by the use of opium and the pipe, is no longer uncommon. The pacha himself sets the example of drinking wine, which is followed by his courtiers and officers, it is said, almost universally. Ibrahim Pacha is a confirmed and hopeless drunkard. We had in our employment a man who had served him, and who assured us that he is in the habit of swallowing incredible quantities of brandy as well as wine. He is usually unfit to receive visits after 9 o'clock in the morning.

The Mohammedans, after they have thrown off the restraints of their religion so far as to commence drinking, speedily lose all self-command, and almost at once become hopeless inebriates.

We ought, perhaps, to hope for ultimate benefits from the

free ingress of foreigners and their manners, though it must be confessed that hitherto they have been at best of an equivocal character. The contempt of the Mohammedans for Christians is diminished by seeing them advanced to so many places of confidence, and by the homage done to their superior intelligence and civilization in the new organization of the army and navy, and in the other innovations of the pacha; and were the Europeans who occupy influential stations in the administration and in society, more exemplary in their lives, some impression would be made upon the religious prejudices, and some respect inspired for the Gospel. Unfortunately, however, those who represent Christianity in Egypt seem not to be impressed with a sense of their high responsibility. They often have the reputation of superadding the voluptuousness and sensuality of the East to the vices of civilized Europe. I heard many anecdotes that left no room to doubt the general correctness of this representation, and had some opportunities to confirm it by my own observations. One European of the highest name purchased a black girl in the slave-market in Cairo, and having tricked her out in the gorgeous finery of the East, paraded her through the length of the land as a mistress with the most offensive and indecent publicity. I met with another representative of Christianity who avowedly resides in Egypt to enjoy the Mohammedan immunity of a plurality of wives; and I was assured that he had a harem, selected with the usual regard to variety, from various nations and colours. Such instances are not solitary, and they produce upon the minds of Mohammedans the most unfavourable impressions with regard to the Gospel. These are rather strengthened than diminished by the instances of apostacy from the Christain faith, of which there are not wanting conspicuous examples, always attended with pretty full proof that they are the result of interested motives, and not of honest conviction. When, in connexion with such facts, we con-

sider the general degradation and bad character of the native Christians, to which the Mohammedans constantly appeal when addressed on the subject of religion, we are hardly permitted to hope that any favourable impression is likely to be made in favour of the Gospel, in the present state of things. It is something, however, that the country is open to missionaries; that the Copts and other Christians have been placed upon a footing of political equality with Mussulmen; and that the latter are habituated to respect and obey the superior intelligence and policy of the professors of the rival creed. All this must tend to repress, if not to eradicate bigotry, and thus may open the way to men who, under better auspices, shall hereafter plant themselves in Egypt, not to help a tyrant forge heavier fetters for the people, but to engage in earnest for their intellectual and moral improvement.

## CHAPTER XIX.

Journey from Cairo to Suez.—Departure from Cairo.—The Tour fashionable and interesting.—Reasons for attempting it.—Fellow-travellers.—The first Encampment.—Delay.—Tricks.—Our Caravan.—Petty Theft.—Outfit for the Journey.—A Company of Ishmaelites.—African Boy.—A Night in the Desert.—Habits of the Arabs.—The Road.—Route to India.—Caravansaries.—Waymarks.—Soil of the Desert.—Marine Petrifactions.—Petrified Timber.—Egyptian Agates.—Mountains.—Salt.—Trees and Shrubs.—High Winds.—The Mirage.—Wells.—Habits of the Camel.—Arrival at Suez.—The Plain of Suez.—Ruins of Kolsum.—Description of the Modern Town.—Population.—Harbour.—Walls.—Hotel.—Commercial Importance and Prospects.—Projected Improvements.—Railroad.—Canal.—The Ancient Canal.—The Bazar.—Passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites.—The Place.—Doubts.—Niebuhr's Opinion.—Situation of the Land of Goshen.—Route to the Sea.—Retrograde Movement.—Necessity of a Miracle.—Its Objects.—Passage at Suez.—Arguments in its Favour.—Objections.—Lower Passage at Bedea.—Reasons for adopting Shaw's Opinion.—The Scripture Account.—The "East Wind."—More Objections.—The greater Miracle the more probable.—The Pass at Bedea.—Mr. Leider's Opinion.—Meaning of the Arab Names.

MARCH 2, 1840. We left Cairo this morning, or rather evening, for it was past two o'clock before we were clear of the city, to commence our journey through the Desert to Jerusalem. I came into Egypt with a settled purpose to resist the strong inducements which I was aware might prevail over my prudence so far as to lead me into an undertaking beyond my strength. Since the passage through the wilderness has been shown to be practicable, and even safe under the potent auspices of the Pacha of Egypt, an annually increasing number of travellers have preferred this novel and interesting route to the old one by sea, from Alexandria to Jaffa, or the land journey by El Arish. It is fast becoming a fashionable trip, and ladies no less than voyagers of the hardier sex have learned to esteem a pil-

grimage of some five or six weeks among the Bedouins as quite indispensable in a visit to the Levant. The way through the Desert has attractions of a higher character. It leads over some of the most historical ground in the world: the Isthmus of Suez, the Red Sea, the Wilderness of Etham, the Mountains of Sinai, Arabia, Edom, Petra. What names awaken more stirring and venerable recollections? Palestine, Jerusalem, Mount Calvary perhaps, but no others; and it is precisely to this sacred theatre of the Redeemer's life and death that we are conducted, through a region illustrated by the achievements of Moses, Joshua, and David, and made holy ground by the most wonderful manifestations of the Divine power and mercy which had been vouchsafed to man previous to the appearance of the Son of God in the world.

From the moment I resolved on visiting Palestine, I felt that it would be no ordinary exercise of self-denial to turn from a route so full of interest and so instructive, to pursue the more beaten path by Jaffa or Gaza. Still I had not aspired to the faintest hope that I should be able to travel through the Desert. During my journey up the Nile, however, the plague had made its appearance in Alexandria, through which city I must pass in prosecuting my original plan. This would be attended with some hazard, and it would be followed by the certain and more dreaded, if not more serious evil of a quarantine at whatever Syrian port I might choose to debark. There could be but little room for hesitation when the only choice lay between a journey through the Desert and a quarantine of two or three weeks in a Turkish lazaretto. My health, too, had improved by my horseback travelling in Greece and during my voyage upon the Nile, and there seemed to be no presumption—perhaps no imprudence, in embarking in the enterprise before me. Relying upon Divine Providence for support, I resolved to make the experiment, and commenced making the

necessary preparations as soon as I was able after my return to Cairo. By great diligence, I had my arrangements so far completed as to be able to set out this morning.

Our company consists of Mr. and Mrs. Cooly, and Mr. Carrington, an English gentleman with whom we became acquainted on the Nile. It was increased by three Germans and an Englishman whom we found encamped on the ground where we pitched our tents for the night, only three miles from Cairo. We had time to proceed several miles farther, but were told by our guides that it was their custom to spend the first night at this identical spot. The scene was novel. I was in the midst of wild Bedouins, whose appearance did full justice to all that has been said or written of their treachery and ferocity. I had, however, become familiar with barbarians, and could but regard these as experience had taught me to regard their more slavish, but not much more civilized brethren, the fellahs of Egypt, as an inferior race, who had not the courage, if so disposed, to do serious harm to men whom they supposed prepared and disposed to resist violence. The air of the Desert was pure and invigorating, and it is long since I enjoyed such refreshing sleep as I did the first night which I passed in a tent.

March 3. We rose early, but did not move until nearly 8 o'clock. The Bedouins had some additional arrangements to make before they were ready to set out on so long a journey, and some things had been left behind by our servants, for which we took this opportunity to send back to the city. Considerable time was also lost in assorting the baggage and apportioning to each camel his proper load. I had some foretaste of what I had to expect from the good faith and veracity of my new acquaintances. I had been at much pains to select a young dromedary of flexible limbs and easy motion, and had taken several rides in order to make a full trial of the animal, upon which my health and comfort were to be so dependant for near a month to come.

When ready to start this morning, an old, stiff-jointed camel was brought to me, which it would have been torture to ride. I remonstrated against the attempted imposition, and with much difficulty induced the guide to bring me another. This was of nearly the same description, and the man who brought it affirmed solemnly that it was the one I had rode out of Cairo, the same thing which he had said of the first. I now sent for the sheik, with whom I had made my contract, and told him, in a positive tone, that I would not move from the spot till my dromedary should be brought to me. He sent a man in quest of it, who finally returned in about half an hour, bringing the animal in question from a large drove of camels which was stationed at a considerable distance on the opposite side of a hill. I now discovered that the saddle, which I had taken still more care in selecting, had been exchanged for a worse one, which was also quite too small for me. This I was not so fortunate as to recover, though I uttered a goodly number of earnest remonstrances. When these all failed of producing any good effect, I appealed to the sheik, as I had done successfully in the case of the dromedary. Instead, however, of rebuking the knavery of his people, he lifted up his eyes and hands towards heaven, and solemnly swore that this was the identical saddle which I had chosen in Cairo, and which he had procured for me with much difficulty. I had delayed too long already, and concluded to make the best I could of the old saddle. The honest sheik afterward told my dragoman that the new saddle, which he had borrowed in town to please me, was too good for the Desert.

Our caravan consists of about thirty camels and nearly as many Bedouins, who guide and take care of them. Besides these there are eight or ten servants; in all nearly fifty persons—a motley group of many nations and languages. We present, when fairly under way, a striking and picturesque appearance. The camels literally groan under huge

and unsightly piles of baggage. Beds and bedding, tents, trunks, baskets, carpet-bags, large boxes of provisions, immense bags of provender for the camels, barrels and skins of water, cooking utensils, and coops full of chickens, only begin the catalogue of our cumbrous outfit. One of the gentlemen and some of the attendants are dressed in gorgeous Turkish costume. With the exception of myself, all are armed, and present a bristling array of double-barrelled guns, pistols, swords, and long knives. The Bedouins are also armed with short swords and muskets, and their black, fiery eyes, sable complexions, flowing dresses, and naked feet and legs, give a wild and at least semi-barbarous air to the whole scene.

Our train is usually from a quarter of a mile to a mile in length, though it occasionally moves more compactly. The camels are left pretty much to themselves, to choose their own way and their own speed, which is usually about two and a half miles the hour. We rode between eight and nine hours, and encamped for the night.

March 4. We have agreed to set off in the morning as soon after sunrise as possible. This requires very early rising, and great activity in masters as well as servants. After despatching breakfast the baggage is to be arranged upon the camels; a business of no little nicety where such a multitude of bulky and unshapely articles must be balanced so that the load may press equally upon both sides of the animal. Great care is also requisite in lashing everything securely, and little less in exercising constant vigilance that nothing be left or lost. All this care falls upon me; for though my Egyptian dragoman appears good-natured and willing to be useful, he seems incapable of exercising the requisite attention.

The Bedouins lend a hand in hastening these arrangements, which rather increases our care, since we have not yet learned to trust them. They must depend, in part at

least, upon stealing. No sweet water is to be had between Cairo and Suez, a journey of four days, and yet they commenced the journey with a smaller quantity for the use of twenty men, than I furnished for myself. It is amusing to see with what adroitness they contrive to help themselves to this indispensable article. They walk up quietly behind the camels, and, untying the mouth of the goatskin bottle, drink as much as they want, and again secure the lashings, the animal meantime continuing its pace without any interruption, and the mountain of baggage concealing the thief from the rider. The guide, of course, makes no objection to a trespass which he will soon repeat for his own benefit. This is a source of annoyance, as it would be a very serious calamity to be short of water in the Desert, where the heat of the day is intense, and the glowing atmosphere, perpetually charged with impalpable sand, parches the mouth and tongue, and burns the lips to a blister. I set out with three skins, perhaps twenty-five or thirty gallons of water. Of bread, rice, macaroni, sugar, tea, and coffee, I laid in ample supplies for myself and Ibrahim, with an allowance for occasional distributions to the Arabs. Fowls may be had at Suez, though we took a number sufficient for the journey to Mount Sinai, twelve or fifteen days. I took also six pounds of cut tobacco for the Bedouins, who must be conciliated in the wilder parts of the country by a multitude of little attentions, of none of which they are more sensible than of such as gratify their appetites. The rest of the party have provided themselves with pipes as well as tobacco, and are prepared to receive the Bedouin sheik in the best Turkish style; but as this requires the entertainer to smoke a few whiffs before he passes the pipe to his guest, I declined following their example in this particular, having been made pretty thoroughly sick in two or three attempts to do honour to this indispensable form of Oriental hospitality.

I have three camels, which is considerably below the

proportion often taken by travellers. An English gentleman of the party has no less than eight. English travellers, however, who are commonly rich, carry two or three times as much baggage as other people. They take a larger inventory of bedding, clothes, and furniture, and do not like to dine without plum-pudding and London porter. All of this is troublesome, and costs a good deal more in the way of additional care than it is worth. In my own outfit, I proceeded on the principle of taking nothing which I could conveniently dispense with. This rule a good deal curtailed the usual catalogue of viatica. My inveterate dyspeptic complaints abridged the list still farther, and yet I am overburdened with baggage. My bed consists of a mat to spread upon the ground, a small carpet, a pillow, and two quilts, bought, one in Athens, the other in Cairo. My tent is circular, and ten feet in diameter. As to bedstead, table, and chairs, I adopt the Oriental style, and make my little Turkish carpet answer for all. A teacup and saucer, a knife and fork, a few tin cups and plates, a teapot, coffee-pot, candlestick, and lantern, with some cooking utensils of the same portable materials, constitute the amount of my household stuff. These, with charcoal for cooking, water, and provisions, a trunk and carpet-bag containing clothes, books, &c., make a full load for the camels. They must carry, by our contract, three hundred and twenty pounds each—a heavy burden for a long journey, though camels used for burdens in Cairo often carry three times as much. I pay two hundred and twenty piasters, about eleven dollars, for each camel from Cairo to Acaba, a journey of fifteen or twenty days. This sum includes the wages of the men, and the feeding of them and the camels.

We met several caravans of camels to-day. They were all loaded with Mocha coffee and frankincense, belonging to the Pacha of Egypt. These articles are cultivated for his benefit in the subject provinces of Southern Arabia, and

transported to Suez by the Red Sea. Thence they are taken by camels across the Desert to Cairo, and down the Nile in boats to Alexandria. Some of the best coffee consumed in Europe is shipped from this port. The frankincense is chiefly exported to Catholic countries, to be used in their masses. I was reminded of the "company of Ishmaelites" who "came from Gilead with their camels, bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." Nothing changes here, and the products of the soil and the habits of the people are what they were in the days of the patriarchs. Our style of travelling is the same that prevailed at that distant epoch, and a Nubian boy who had been purchased in Cairo by an Austrian gentleman of our party, and was perched upon a loaded camel on his way to a distant and strange country, made the recollection of the Ishmaelites who purchased the young Joseph still more natural and vivid.

I ought to say that the Nubian boy was not bought with a view of keeping him in slavery, since he becomes free, of course, in Austria, but as a sort of fancy article, a curiosity of the country, upon the same principle that Turkish dresses and yellow slippers are taken home by persons curious in such things.

Everything connected with this country and our mode of travelling is so new and so unlike all I have before seen, that each hour offers some interesting subject for observation. When we stopped to encamp, which was about four P.M., the camels were turned loose to crop some coarse shrubs which grew in the valley or wady. It is a moment of great bustle, all hands being on the alert to set up the tents, unpack and arrange the baggage, and prepare a fire to cook dinner, which, by this time of day, and after so much fatigue, is a matter of no little importance. As soon as it grew dusk, the camels returned and proceeded directly to the premises of the several parties to which they belong.

They laid down, forming a sort of circle around each tent, and were fed with a small quantity of beans, hung upon their heads in a bag. When any danger is apprehended, or it is feared the camels may wander away during the night, they are secured by bending the fore leg at the knee and fastening it by a noose. The Bedouins take their post within the circle of camels, arranging their saddles, forage, and baggage so as to strengthen the defences and form a shelter from the wind. All are asleep at an early hour, though they become talkative in the latter part of the night. The camels act as sentinels, and commonly give notice of the approach of any person by uttering a sound peculiar to this animal, and perhaps by snapping at him. These characteristic groups, seen by the glimmering fire of grass and shrubs which burns in the midst of each, present a picturesque and pleasing appearance, and the traveller in the Desert, encompassed by the wild Bedouins and their faithful camels, soon finds himself free from all apprehensions of danger.

March 5. The road through the Desert is commonly very broad—in the more level and favourable parts, often a quarter of a mile wide. It consists of a great number of parallel tracks, each twelve or eighteen inches in width, formed by the tread of the camel. In very stony places, and in defiles between hills and mountains, the highway of the caravan is much narrower and the number of paths smaller. It is exclusively a natural road, and the only appearance of its owing anything to human industry is seen in an occasional heap of stones, which seem to have been gathered out of this most ancient thoroughfare. This is a very recent improvement, which has been made by the agents of the East India Company to facilitate the new communication overland with India.

For promoting the same object, houses or caravansaries have been erected, at intervals of eight or ten miles, all the

way from Cairo to Suez. These are provided with servants and refreshments, sent from Cairo whenever the steamboat is about to sail from Suez to Bombay or is expected from the East. Passengers are conveyed over this route in carriages or by camels. The price of accommodations is enormous, but this is unavoidable under the circumstances.

Besides these station-houses, there is not a human habitation upon the whole route, which, however, is much travelled, and must, if the general peace continues, become very important to the pacha, whose dominions comprehend extensive regions on both shores of the Red Sea, and to the great number of Englishmen going to and returning from India. The saving of time over the old route around the Cape of Good Hope is considerably more than half, and it is hardly possible that England will ever consent to resign this new and easy way of communication with her vast Indian Empire.

A striking and rather gloomy feature of this route is the great number of carcases, skeletons, and scattered bones of camels, which are found at intervals of only a few rods on both sides of the road, throughout its whole length. These faithful and useful animals have sunk under their heavy burdens, and their white bones, always in sight, would guide a stranger with unerring safety from Cairo to Suez.

The Desert is composed of gravel rather than sand. Much of its undulating surface is thickly strewed with fragments of flintstones, and small pebbles of jasper and chalcedony, and is, for the most part, extremely hard and unyielding. Occasionally sand predominates, especially in the valleys and defiles. Combined with the gravel, it forms, in some places, a fragile crust, which crackles under the feet of the camels like snow when slightly frozen. The pebbles and stones are usually of a dark colour, and rounded, as it would seem, by friction. The sea has covered this whole dreary region, which, in many places, presents the appearance of the dry bed of a mountain torrent.

The limestone rocks, which frequently rise above the surface, and form many low ranges of hills, are full of marine substances. Immense numbers of sea-shells of a very large size are imbedded in them, and often constitute the greater part of the mass. Fragments of petrified wood, which have formed parts of very large trees like those of the petrified forest trees near Cairo, are frequently seen along the route. Many of these fragments have been rounded by the action of water bringing them into collision with other hard substances, so as to resemble, in form, the other stones among which they are found, while they exhibit perfectly the grain and texture of the wood.

The pebbles have an interior conformation of peculiar beauty and interest. Many of them, I know not from what cause, are broken, and the fractures, which are commonly regular, exhibit the grain of different sorts of trees, and, what is more curious, the forms of a variety of beautiful flowers. They cover large portions of the Desert, and in many places are sown so thickly as to give the hills, when seen at a little distance, the appearance of being clad in sackcloth.

Mountains are visible both on the right and left of our route the whole distance from Cairo to the neighbourhood of Suez. As we approach the latter place, the low sandy ridges to the north disappear, while the southern range, much the more elevated throughout its whole length, becomes lofty and precipitous. The two ranges nowhere approach each other nearer than eight or ten miles.

We pitched our tent this evening under a high hill, at the distance of a little more than a mile from Mount Attaka, as the highest or southern range is called. My attention was attracted by the rather singular appearance of the rock, which was composed of several thin strata, very distinct, and of various colours. On examination, I found one of the layers, about three feet below the surface, to consist of salt, slightly intermixed with sand.

The Desert is not wholly destitute of verdure, though the vegetation which it supports is too inconsiderable to be mentioned among its characteristic features. Yesterday, for the first time, we saw a single tree near one of the station-houses, or bungaloes. To-day we may have seen twenty more. All are stunted and of a wretched appearance, though our Bedouins could not conceal their exultation at the sight. They called our attention to these marks of fertility with evident pride, and seemed to expect some expression of our admiration. These trees had shed their leaves, but were full of thorns. They are a species of the acacia.

The lower grounds and the valleys, which imbibe some moisture from rains, bear a species of coarse tough grass, upon which the camels are turned to graze. It resembles a shrub more than grass, and springs up in small bunches, a few inches only in diameter, and distant from each other as many yards. The drifting sand lodges among their roots and forms little hillocks, which resemble ant-hills. A few scented shrubs, forming also food for the camel, are interspersed among the grass. It must not be thought these green spots, which relieve, in some degree, the dreariness of the Desert, are either numerous or extensive. They occur at intervals of several miles, and seldom cover more than one or two acres.

Our journey to-day has been rendered disagreeable by the prevalence of a strong east wind. It called to my recollection the disastrous gales by which large caravans and armies have been overwhelmed and buried with sand. We, however, were in little danger of such a fate. Sand is but an inconsiderable ingredient in the formation of this flinty-faced Desert, and we were soon taught to fear missiles of greater potency, for the wind became so violent as to drive showers of fine gravel-stones directly into our faces. Our skin was

already nearly blistered, and we suffered exquisitely from this unexpected assault.

We had an interesting view of what is called the mirage, a mist or fog resting upon the Desert, which, seen at a distance, so exactly resembles water that I should not have doubted that I was approaching a lake, had not my previous reading made me acquainted with the existence of this singular phenomenon. Many a fainting traveller in the Desert has revived at the sight of this lusus naturæ, and hastened onward to slake his thirst. I should now have no difficulty in believing such a tale, though I have usually ascribed them to fiction or exaggeration.

March 6. We recommenced our journey at seven o'clock this morning, and at ten came to a large square edifice, constructed of stone, for the protection of two wells, which it encloses. But for this safeguard, they would be filled with the drifting sand. They were perhaps dug to furnish water to the inhabitants of some town or village that formerly existed in this vicinity, but which has now disappeared. The water is carried to Suez for domestic uses. It is very brackish, and can hardly be used for drinking, even in the region where pure, sweet water is unknown. It is raised from the deep wells by buffaloes or oxen, by the usual machinery. Large stone troughs are provided for watering the camels which pass along this great thoroughfare.

I was surprised to find that my dromedary, after four days' abstinence, showed little inclination to drink, and barely tasted the tempting fluid, though kept for some time standing by the reservoir. The ability possessed by these animals to endure thirst, or, rather, the want of water, for they seem not to suffer thirst, is proverbial. A donkey that accompanied us from Cairo suffered excessively for want of water, which the owner had neglected to bring for his use. His tongue swelled to an enormous size, and his life was only saved by some water which was once or twice sup-

plied by the charity of the party. It is remarkable that the earth near these wells, though kept irrigated by the waste water, produces no vegetation.

About eleven A.M. we reached Suez, and encamped outside of its walls upon the seashore. Our ride for the last two or three hours was over an extensive plain, composed of gravel and sand, which was probably, at some period of the world's history, covered by the sea. The composition of the rock, which frequently appeared above the surface, and is wholly made of marine substances, as well as the whole appearance of the ground, leads to this conclusion. This plain reaches to the Gulf of Suez on the east, and is bounded by Mount Attaka, which approaches to within a short distance of Suez on the south. The mountain is here precipitous and lofty, and rises abruptly near the sea, which appears to be overhung by its cliffs. It is composed of regular strata, is perfectly bare, and of a dark, gloomy hue.

A little north of our encampment, and within half a mile of Suez, are extensive mounds of rubbish, which mark the site of the ancient town of Kolsum, and probably of the more ancient Cleopatris or Arsinoe. No buildings remain, though a few sun-dried bricks and some fragments of stone, once employed in the construction of houses, mark it as the site of a ruined town. It was probably a poorly-built city, though important from its commercial position.

Suez is a town of fifteen hundred or two thousand inhabitants, meanly built of small, rough stones, composed, like all the rock in the vicinity, of marine substances. Some dozen or twenty ships, of one mast, roughly built and provided, were at anchor in the harbour. I observed a large steamboat upon the stocks, which belongs to the pacha, and is intended to ply between Suez and the Arabian provinces subject to Mohammed Ali.

The Gulf of Suez, for so this branch of the Red Sea is called, has here more the appearance of a river than of an

arm of the sea. It is about two thirds of a mile wide at low water, and I was told that the Colombo, East India steamer, of six hundred tons burden, enters the harbour at high tide without difficulty. The larger class vessels usually anchor two miles below.

Though the site of a commercial town, this spot resembles, in all respects, the rest of the Desert. I did not see a single tree or other green thing. Suez is encompassed on three sides by a slight wall of stone, and there is a small battery at the entrance of the harbour, mounting five light guns. An English hotel is kept here, to facilitate the transit of passengers to and from India. It is connected with the station-houses in the Desert, and, like them, is remarkable for high charges. The Indian steamboats and the transit of the pacha's Arabian products supply the principal business of the place. Pilgrims to Mecca also embark here in great numbers.

The bazars are scantily supplied with merchandise of a very inferior quality, and the city has a considerable traffic with the Bedouins who traverse the Desert to and from Egypt. Should the regions around the Red Sea and farther East become civilized and industrious, the natural advantages of Suez would give it great commercial importance. It is upon what should be the great thoroughfare between Europe and the most populous and wealthy nations of Asia. A canal of about sixty miles in length would connect it with the Nile and the Mediterranean, and unite that great inland sea with the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. The present political agitation on Eastern affairs may result in some arrangement favourable to the advancement of trade and civilization in the Oriental world. England can hardly yield up her opening prospects of an easy and rapid communication through this sea with her Indian Empire; nor, if she maintains this important interest, can she long delay to make such improvements, and so to multiply facilities for

the transport of passengers and merchandise, as must add greatly to the importance of Suez.

Several projects for restoring the communications which formerly existed between the head of the gulf and Cairo and the Mediterranean have lately been a good deal discussed in Egypt, and are even said to be among the great improvements which the pacha designs to make, after the settlement of the more pressing questions that now engross his attention and resources. I believe that some surveys have actually been made for a railroad from Cairo to Suez. The practicability of this enterprise, however, may well be doubted. The construction would be very expensive in a country so destitute of the requisite material. A road would be exposed to be buried in sand as often as strong winds should blow, and neither the population nor business of the country would afford it any adequate support.

Another project, that of opening the old canal to the eastern or Pelusiac arm of the Nile, would seem to be far more promising as well as more practicable. This would afford a communication with all parts of Egypt, through the different branches of the Nile, of a kind adapted to the nature of the country and habits of the people, and it would more effectually lay open to commerce and travel the newly-restored thoroughfare to India. The course of the ancient canal, which terminated in the gulf, about five miles north of Suez, is still well marked and traceable for several leagues.

These improvements, should they ever be realized, will greatly increase the importance of Suez as a commercial depôt, but it must ever remain a disagreeable place of residence. It is in the heart of the Desert, is sickly, and has no good water. That which is mostly used is brought eight or ten miles across the gulf, and is itself brackish and nearly unfit for use. Some persons keep the water of the Nile for drinking, which is brought from Cairo on camels

and sold at a high price. The bitter water brought from Asia is also dear.

We procured a few chickens here and some very bad bread, which, however, our Egyptian servants preferred, as being fresh and made like their own. Our Bedouin guides asked for a farther advance of pay, which was not due to them by contract until the end of our journey at Acaba. We indulged them, however, in their request, as they professed to be out of money and in want of supplies.

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Suez possesses, and must ever possess, an interest of a much higher character than commercial or political considerations can impart. It was here, or in the immediate neighbourhood, that God was pleased to make a display of his miraculous power in opening a way through the sea for the escape of the children of Israel from the Egyptian army. There is considerable diversity of opinion as to the precise theatre of this great event, but the controversy is confined to a region of not more than twelve or fifteen miles in length, extending from a little north of Suez to a valley opening through the mountains of Attaka to the sea, a few miles south of that town.

The spot consecrated by this stupendous miracle is described with great particularity by the sacred historian. It was "before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon," that the children of Israel were encamped when the Almighty interposed so wonderfully for their deliverance. Names, however, have been changed and misapplied. Ancient cities have disappeared, and historical truth has been disguised or perverted by tradition, till the Scriptural account is no longer a sufficient guide for those who seek to ascertain the precise place signalized by the deliverance of the Israelites and the destruction of their enemies. This uncertainty, though limited to a very narrow range, when it is considered that the question is

about the particular spot where two millions of people encamped and made the transit of the sea—a multitude which must always have been spread out over an area of many square miles—has nevertheless given rise to many conjectures and hypotheses.

Niebuhr's opinion, which seems to have been formed after the most diligent investigation, and which has been followed since his day by many travellers, fixes the point of transit at Suez. This is a point easily accessible, from the line of march which the Israelites would naturally pursue in their journey from the land of Goshen to Mount Sinai. There is good reason to concur in the prevailing opinion that assigns to the land of Goshen the region between the Pelusiac arm of the Nile and the Desert which bounds it on the east. The direct northeast route to Palestine by Gaza, which was the more eligible and nearer one from that part of Egypt, was in the hands of the Philistines, the enemies of the Israelites, and was on that account declined. For a similar reason, the retreating hosts would avoid the more southern route leading up the Nile to the vicinity of Memphis, which, besides being longer, would expose them, during their march, to be interrupted by the Egyptians. They would naturally prefer the shortest way, and that which would most speedily conduct them out of the reach of their enemies. This would pass near the northern termination of the Gulf of Suez, and along its eastern shore towards Sinai. The distance from the habitable portions of Egypt to the Red Sea, along this route, is little more than half as great as that from Cairo to Suez, which requires nearly four days on camels. It seems incredible that this latter distance could have been accomplished by the ill-provided multitudes of the Israelitish camp in the time assigned in the Bible. There is, moreover, a critical difficulty in the way of this southern and longer route. From Rameses, which was their great rendezvous in the land of Goshen,

they marched to Succoth, and thence to Etham on the edge of the wilderness. This name is given in Num., xxxiii., to the Desert east of the Red Sea, upon which they entered after the miraculous transit, and it seems to have been very extensively applied, for it embraced Mara, where they encamped after journeying three days from the Gulf of Suez. Unless we suppose that the same name was applied to the Desert on the west side of the sea, which is highly improbable, we must conclude that Etham, in the edge of the wilderness, which was the second station in the march of the Israelites, was south of Suez, and probably near the termination of the gulf. This would be upon the border of the wilderness which stretches along the eastern shore of this arm of the sea, to which the name of Etham is given in Numbers.

It was at this point in their flight, when they had reached the eastern frontier of Egypt, and were advancing towards Sinai by the usual route along the eastern side of the gulf, that the Israelites were arrested in their course and directed "to turn," or, as it is in Numbers, xxxiii., "turn again and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea over against Baal-zephon." That is, instead of continuing their journey along the eastern shore of the gulf, and thus interposing this barrier between themselves and their enemies, they were to turn directly southward and march to an exposed position, hemmed in completely by the sea, the Desert, and Mount Attaka, from which it would be impossible to escape in face of a hostile army.

In reality, the situation of the Israelites was no worse in the inextricable position in which they were now involved, than it was in Etham, or than it would have been if left to pursue their journey in the Desert. They were entering a region destitute of inhabitants, and of all supplies of food for man and beast. Whether pursued or not by the Egyptians, they could not have subsisted in this Desert for a few

days even, without miraculous assistance. When they had subsequently entered the same dreary wilderness, after the passage of the Red Sea, we find them, in less than a week, reduced to want and crying for bread, which was rained down from heaven, the only quarter from which their wants could possibly have been supplied. For anything that appears, they might have prosecuted their journey along the usual route, perhaps unmolested, for it was the difficulty in which they were subsequently involved that encouraged the Egyptians to pursue them. But a miracle was to be wrought —had, indeed, become indispensable—for their deliverance, and the difficulties of the new position before Migdol were designed to make the display of Divine power more profitable to the disheartened Israelites, who had not yet learned to put their trust in the Almighty, and more terrible to their guilty, unrelenting enemies. "For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, they are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in. And I will harden Pharaoh's heart that he shall follow after them, and I will be honoured upon Pharaoh and all his host, that the Egyptians may know that I am the Lord." "I will get me honour upon Pharaoh and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his horsemen." It will be useful to keep these declarations in view in attempting to settle the question as to the place where the transit of the sea was made. The Israelites were commanded to "turn again," and march into a position full of difficulty and danger, for no other conceivable purpose than the avowed one of exciting a false confidence in Pharaoh, and leading him into a snare, where his punishment, and the deliverance thus brought to the Israelites, might produce the greatest moral effect—where the miracle should be most palpable and impressive.

In contending for the upper passage at Suez, Niebuhr, and others who adopt the same opinion, appear to be a good deal influenced by the fact that "the miracle would be less

if they crossed there than near Bedea." At this point, the bay, or narrow part of the gulf, is about two thirds of a mile wide. Opposite to the ancient site of Kolsum, less than half a mile above the town, are some small islands, where, at low water, persons sometimes ford the bay, and with little difficulty if it is not agitated by the wind. A short distance below Suez there is also a shoal, which prevents the passage of all but very small vessels at low tide, and may sometimes be forded by men on foot, though with more difficulty. It is at this narrow pass, and between or upon these shoals, that the passage is presumed to have been made. It is reasonable to believe that a strong wind, concurring with the ebbing of the sea, would lay this shallow channel nearly bare, and allow an easy passage to the Israelites.

The obvious objection to this hypothesis, arising from the shallowness of the water, which is inconsistent, it might be thought, with the Scripture narrative, is a good deal diminished by the presumed fact, sustained by present appearances, that the channel has been partly filled up, as well as diminished in width, by the encroachments of the sand. The ancient canal, which was certainly connected with the head of the bay four or five miles south of Suez, does not now approach to the water. Without regarding these changes, and supposing the natural features of this locality to have been the same as at present, it must still have been very difficult, if not impossible, for the army of Israel, encumbered with infants and aged people, as well as with flocks, to pass over in the face of their enemies; and the adoption of this theory is not necessarily to be considered as a negation of the miracle.

Still it will be admitted that the circumstances here enumerated must have had a tendency to disguise its character and impair its effect. To the Israelites the miracle had been announced beforehand, and they would be likely to perceive and acknowledge the Divine interposition. Not so

the pagan Egyptians, who would not so readily recognise anything beyond natural agencies: a lower ebb and a stronger wind than usual were quite enough to drive back the water, and allow armies to pass where camels and footmen could wade through in ordinary times. If, however, the channel was laid bare by the wind acting with the tide, as this opinion presumes, what becomes of the "wall of water on the right hand and on the left?" There might have been water on the right hand below, though hardly "a wall" of water: but how could these agents, acting naturally, produce another "wall" or bulwark of water on the left hand above? We are hardly at liberty to consider this as merely figurative language, meaning only that while the channel was left free to the passage of the Israelites, some water remaining in the upper parts of it near its head, protected them against their enemies in that direction. Language much stronger, and savouring more of the miraculous, is used in the song of Moses, in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus. "With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together, the floods stood upright as an heap, and the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea." "He made the waters stand as an heap." Ps. lxxviii., 13.

It should be observed that none but a northerly wind could co-operate with the tide in clearing the channel of water in the manner supposed, as the gulf stretches nearly from south to north. "A strong east wind" was employed as the miraculous agent, which would act nearly at right angles with the movement of the tide, and directly across the strait. This seems not to have been an ordinary or periodical wind, which does not blow from the east, but a special agency, called up for the occasion, "as Moses stretched his rod over the sea." "Speak thou to the children of Israel that they go forward; but lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand over the sea, and divide it, and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of

the sea." "And Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land, and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of the sea upon the dry ground; and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left." According to the obvious import of these quotations, Moses advanced with the hosts of Israel to the sea, and stretched out his rod over the waters in their sight, upon which a strong east wind descended, and formed a channel, into which the Israelites immediately entered. This passage, which was made by a wall of water "on the right hand and on the left," was kept open during the whole night by the continued action of the same agent. The Egyptians followed the Israelites "to the midst of the sea," where Moses again stretched forth his hand, "and the sea returned to his strength when the morning appeared." The entire night seems to have been consumed in the passage. The Israelites had reached the shore in safety; but the Egyptians who went in after them had only reached the middle of the sea on the return of the day, when God again "blew with his wind, and the sea covered them." It is hardly credible that so much time should have been consumed in crossing the narrow arm or strait near Suez, to accomplish which one or two hours would have been sufficient, making due allowance for the tardy movement of multitudes. Nor is it conceivable that the large army of the Egyptians, composed of chariots and horsemen as well as other troops, and forming, as they naturally would on a march, a very long train, should have been at once within the banks of so narrow a channel. The more advanced troops would naturally have reached the opposite shore before the rear had entered the sea; and yet we know that all Pharaoh's chariots and horsemen followed to the *midst* of the sea, and, together with all the host that came into the sea after them, were covered with the returning waves.

The several considerations which I have enumerated seem to me to form a very strong—I incline to regard it an insuperable, objection to the theory that fixes upon the narrow arm of the gulf at Suez as the place where the passage was made. I am not able to perceive that the transit from the valley south of Ras Attaka is liable to objections as numerous and grave. The strongest of these meets us at the threshold—How came the Israelites in this dangerous defile, so far from their proper route to Mount Sinai, and so unpropitious as a military position? I know of no answer to this question, except the one I have already given—an answer which, to say the least, is as good in the present case as it is for the passage at Suez. God was about to display his power in behalf of his persecuted people, and to inflict upon their enemies a memorable overthrow. In order to make his interposition more signal and impressive, and, perhaps, to secure both his friends and his enemies against all liability to ascribe the effects of his miraculous agency to natural or accidental causes, he commanded the Israelites to turn out of their regular route, and led them to encamp in the dangerous defiles of Attaka, where deliverance from ruin might inspire faith and gratitude, and where the hardened and guilty Pharaoh might be incited to rush upon merited and sure destruction, by the prospect of easy victory over a helpless enemy. If this was a sufficient reason for deviating from the journey at Etham, it will account well enough for their proceeding into the defile rather than stopping at Suez. The more serious the difficulties with which they were environed here, the stronger, in this aspect of the subject, would be the reason for selecting such a theatre for the manifestation of the Divine power.

The sea or gulf, at the place in question, is perhaps ten or twelve miles wide. The valley here expands into a considerable plain, bounded by lofty, precipitous mountains on the right and left, and by the sea in front, and is sufficiently

ample to accommodate the vast number of human beings who composed the two armies. The opposite shore is a part of the great wilderness of Etham, consisting here of an extensive plain, covered at present with a sandy incrustation, and white in many places with an efflorescence of salt. An east wind would act almost directly across the gulf. It would therefore be unable to co-operate with an ebb tide in removing the waters—no objection, certainly, if we admit the exercise of God's miraculous agency in this transaction. The channel is wide enough to allow of the movements described in the account by Moses, and the time, which embraced an entire night, was sufficient for the convenient march of a large army over such a distance of twelve miles.

The opinion which fixes the point of transit in the valley or wady south of Mount Attaka derives confirmation from the names still attached to the principal objects in this locality. Upon this point I acknowledge my obligation to the Rev. Mr. Leider, of Cairo, who has spent more than ten years in Egypt, is familiar with the Arabic language, and has devoted much attention to this vexed question. He recently spent several days in this neighbourhood in making investigations and inquiries in reference to the passage of the Israelites. Jebel Attaka, according to Mr. L., who only confirms the statements of former travellers, means, in the language of the Arabs, "the mount of deliverance." Baideah or Bedéa, the name of this part of the valley, means "the miraculous," while Wady el Tih, the part more remote from the sea, means "the valley of wanderings." Pihahiroth, where Moses was commanded to encamp, is rendered by scholars "the Mouth of Hahiroth," which answers well to the deep gorge south of Attaka, but not at all to the broad plain about Suez.

Here are some ruins, which mark, perhaps, the site of Migdol, "the tower," near which the Israelites were to encamp.

## CHAPTER XX.

Journey from Suez to Sinai.—Sail on the Red Sea to the Wells of Moses.—The Asiatic Shore.—Character of the Plain.—Incrustation of Salt.—Ayoun Mousa.—Gardens.—Tradition.—Fountain of Naba.—Reinforcement.—The Bedouins.—Mode of Travelling.—Time-saving Expedients.—Morning Walks.—Plain of El Ahta.—The Red Sea.—Beautiful Illusion.—Vale of Bedéa.—Wady Waradan.—Definition.—The Pastures of the Desert.—The Camel's Food.—The Plain of Waradan.—Jebel el Raha.—Ain Howara.—The Mara of Moses.—Proofs.—Description of the Bitter Fountain.—The Power of Incredulity.—The Tree that healed the Water.—Philosophy.—The Opinion of a Sailor.—Another Bitter Fountain.—Wady Gerundel.—Wells.—Palm-trees.—Shrubbery.—The Wells of the Desert.—Wady Gerundel the Elim of Exodus.—Mineralogists.—Limestone Mountains.—Wady Usita.—Singular Appearance of the Mountains.—Description of this Part of the Desert.—Vegetation.—Wady Thali.—Wady Shubaka.—Wady Tarba.—Route of the Israelites.—Direct Road to Sinai.—Wady Humar.—Salt.—A Casualty.—Sandstone Mountains.—A Luxury.—Water of the Nile.—Temperance of the Bedouins.—Domestic Habits.—Dress.—Sandy Plain.—Jebel Tih.—Bedouin Cemeteries.—Religious Habits of the Arabs.—Granite Mountains.—An interesting Valley.—Character of the Mountains.—Variety of Colours.—Porphyry.—Wady el Boork.—A Massive Tripod.—Mysterious Inscriptions.—Singular Aspect of the Granite Cliffs.—View of Jebel Sherbal.—Description of our Route.—Porphyry Strata.—Approach to Sinai.—Mountain Pass.—Nuked Howa.—First View of Mount Sinai.—Its Appearance.—Emotions.—Arrival at the Convent of St. Catherine.—Mode of Admission.—Letters.—Irksome Delay.—Ungracious Reception.—Retrospect.—Our Bedouin Guides.—Their good Conduct.—Their high Spirit.—Honesty.—Sheik Salah.—The Towarahs.—Their Poverty.—Domestic Animals.—Food.—Trade and Occupations.—Their Love of the Desert.—The Journey of the Israelites.—Desolateness of the Region.—Absolute Sterility.—The Miracles of Moses necessary.—Subsistence of their Flocks.—Names.—Want of Guide Books.—The Bible.—Ignorance of the Bedouins.

MARCH 7. We remained in Suez to-day until 1 P.M., having sent our camels around the head of the gulf, with an appointment to meet them at Ayoun Mousa, the Wells of Moses. The route by land is about seven hours. By

water, with a fair wind, it is not more than two hours. We sailed against the tide in an open boat unskilfully managed, and had, besides, a heavy gale, which barely admitted of our keeping the right course. We were drenched by the surges that broke over the side of the boat, and, instead of landing, as we expected, within a few minutes' walk of our tents, which were in readiness for our arrival, were surprised to see our boatmen throwing out their stone anchor three hundred yards from the shore, and at least four miles from Ayoun Mousa. The water was too shallow to permit a nearer approach, and they assured us there were dangerous rocks in the way of proceeding farther along the coast towards the desired point of debarcation. We were borne to the land seated on the shoulders of the sailors, our feet dragging in the water.

The beach is covered with a great variety of marine shells. From thence to our tents, a distance of about four miles, we walked over a sandy plain, perceived to be slightly undulating as we advanced, though it appeared to us, as we stood upon the beach, to be a perfect level. It differs from any other portion of the Desert of equal extent which I have yet seen, in being nearly free from stones and gravel, and composed of light sand, into which the foot sinks two or three inches. A large portion of it is covered with an incrustation of salt, that crumbles under the foot, and occasionally is so pure and thick as entirely to conceal the sand.

The Wells of Moses are situated just beyond the termination of this plain, and upon ground considerably more elevated. They are said by travellers to be thirteen in number. I counted seven which contain water. Some of these are nearly filled with sand, and I can readily suppose that others are quite concealed from the same cause. These singular fountains are only a few feet in depth, and are merely shallow basins half filled with sand. What is re-

markable, the water is several feet higher than the adjacent plain. The fountains are elevated on mounds formed by a dark, hard sediment deposited by the water, from which small rills are conducted into some cultivated fields, to which they impart a measure of fertility. I could not ascertain the kind of culture, as the ground was not now sown, or the seed had not yet sent forth its shoots. These fields, which hardly amount to more than two acres in all, are surrounded with a frail fence of palm branches thrust into the sand, above which they rise three or four feet. A few palm-trees, much neglected and unpruned, adorn this little oasis, the most considerable by far which I have seen since leaving the Nile.

The water of the fountains is warm and brackish, and unfit for use, though I believe the Bedouins sometimes drink and water their camels here. Tradition makes this a station, or, at least, a watering-place of the Israelites, and has honoured these sources with the great name of their lawgiver. Some objections have been started against this hypothesis, but I am inclined to think them unfounded. The name itself must be regarded as affording probable evidence in favour of the historical fact which it commemorates. Whether the host of Israel crossed the Red Sea at Suez, or to the north or south of it, these fountains were near the route which they would naturally pursue. They afford an ample supply of water, though of a bad quality, and there is no other spring equally convenient, unless, perhaps, that of Naba, whence Suez is supplied with water. It was necessary, it would seem, for the Israelites to obtain their supply of this indispensable article in this place.

The valley of Bedéa is conspicuously seen from Ayoun Mousa across the broad expanse of the Gulf of Suez, in a southwest direction.

March 8. We struck our tents this morning at about seven o'clock. This is our usual hour for starting, which

is as soon as we can with any convenience despatch breakfast and make other needful arrangements.

Our party was re-enforced at Suez by three English gentlemen and an Italian, who left Cairo the day after our departure, and overtook us by a little extra exertion. We are now a large caravan, numbering nearly fifty camels, and about as many Egyptian servants and Bedouin guides. Our movements are rendered rather more tardy by the length of our train, but it gives additional interest to the scene. The Bedouins are full of glee and animation, and talk, sing, and quarrel with inconceivable vivacity. Their step is light and elastic, and they seem utter strangers to fatigue.

We usually travel nine hours in the day without making any stop. The little refreshment which our time and circumstances allow us, is taken on the backs of our camels. It is no trifling matter to descend from one of these formal and awkwardly-arrayed animals, besides the disagreeable jolting occasioned by his kneeling, and by the abruptness and even violence with which he rises as soon as he feels the additional weight upon his back. To avoid these inconveniences, as well as the loss of time, the traveller is provided with a small leathern bottle of water, and, if his taste require it, with brandy or wine, to quench his thirst, and a bag or basket of eatables. Those who make elaborate provision for the appetite, often manifest much skill and good taste in a variety of fruits and viands, and in their convenient arrangement upon the camel.

I usually walk an hour or two in the morning, and again before stopping for the night. This is a great relief from the fatigue of incessant riding, and, besides, affords interesting opportunities for minute and leisurely observations. At the termination of my walk this morning, I found myself standing upon a low range of hills, which divides the rather uneven region through which our route had led us, from an immense plain upon which we were about to enter. Upon

the brow of a steep rock, and about five feet below its summit, I observed a layer of salt. It was nearly pure, but had a slight intermixture of sand.

This plain, which the Bedouins call El Ahta, stretches from the Red Sea on the west to a range of mountains ten or twelve miles distant, called Jebel el Raha, which form its eastern boundary. We have spent the day in traversing its length from north to south, without having yet reached its limit. We travelled in full view of the sea. It is a beautiful sheet of water, as clear as crystal when you sail over its bosom, but seen from a distant point, it is of a deep, dark green. The mountains which bound its western side are steep and lofty, and, though destitute of verdure, the rich shading cast by the more elevated and projecting parts upon their side, and the splendid reflections of the glassy sea that laves their base, atone for the deficiency. It forms a magnificent background to a large and noble view.

The mirage lent its illusions to the scene this morning, and filled up the splendid outline with what seemed the creations of enchantment. The southern part of the plain appeared to be converted into an extensive lake, and immediately beyond it rose a forest of tall palm-trees, whose graceful tops seemed to hang deep in the water, from which they were distinctly and beautifully reflected. The same appearance of water stretched along the beach, from which our route was distant about five miles, and between it and the actual sea rose a steep chalky cliff, that reminded me of the shores of England. The waves dashed against its base, and sent their white spray in shining streams into the air. It was difficult to realize that all this was an illusion. So true to nature was the whole gorgeous scene, that I enjoyed it as a reality, and gazed in admiration for some moments before the truth occurred to my thoughts.

Our ride this morning was directly opposite to the valley of Bedéa, the last encampment, upon the theory of Mr. Shaw

and Mr. Leider, and which seems to me the more probable one, occupied by the Israelites before the passage of the Red Sea. The estimated width of the gulf, ten or twelve mlies, agrees very well with its appearance to my eye. The valley appeared to be five or six miles wide upon the beach, and it stretches into the interior beyond the reach of my vision. It is bounded on that, its western side, as well as north and south, by mountains, and is entered from Egypt through a winding ravine. Encamped on the seashore in this ample field, the vast host of Israel were flanked by high and absolutely impassable mountains, "rising," in the words of Mr. Leider, "like the walls of a citadel on the north and south sides of the valley." The Red Sea was in front, and the army of Pharaoh closed up the ravine in the rear. It was in this desperate state of affairs that they loaded Moses with reproaches, and lifted up their cry to God, who alone could deliver them.

We encamped about 4 o'clock P.M. in Wady Waradan. Wady is the Arabic name for valley, and they apply it to every depression in the desert plain which, in the rainy season, gives passage to the water that runs into it from the hills and higher grounds in the neighbourhood. These are the landmarks of the Bedouins, where they always encamp and feed their camels. They have, for the most part, no name for the plains, which usually afford neither food nor water for their camels, but the smallest valley is distinguished by its appropriate appellation, which is also frequently applied to the tracts of desert adjacent, and to the highlands, where the wady has its rise. We have passed a number of wadies since leaving Suez, which conduct the water, in the rainy season, from the range of mountains, always visible on our left, to the sea. At present they are perfectly dry, and several of them give sustenance to a scanty vegetation. Wady Waradan is only a slight depression in the plain, which, in the time of rain, becomes the bed of a torrent, and

is now clothed with a few shrubs, on which the camels were, as usual, turned loose to graze. Nothing appears less fit for food than these hard, sapless shrubs; but the camel, in all its habits and capabilities, is wisely fitted to the Desert. Ours did not drink for four days between Cairo and Suez; and when I rode my dromedary up to a fountain near the latter place in order to enjoy the gratification of seeing him drink after so long an abstinence, he showed no sort of avidity, and hardly took so much as a gallon of water. This singular animal is almost equally temperate in regard to food. He crops the hard, withered shrubs with apparent eagerness, but is satisfied in a few minutes, and returns to the camp, when a very small quantity, I should think not more than two or three quarts, of beans is given to him in a bag drawn over his nose; and this is all the food he receives in twenty-four hours.

March 9. The extensive plain which we traversed in our route this morning takes its name from the valley where we stopped for the night, and is a continuation of the one over which we travelled yesterday. For several miles it is composed chiefly of sand with some intermixture of pebbles and loose stones. On the east it is bounded by Jebel el Rahah, here called Jebel Waradan, which is always in sight, and it extends to the sea, about the same distance from our route on the west. From this plain we passed over a low range of hills to another less extensive and more undulating, whose surface is composed, for the most part, of bare rock. The western mountain here approaches nearer to the sea, in many broken, irregular masses. The plain is gradually lost in a succession of low, bare sandhills, among which occasionally appear some limestone ledges of no great extent. The narrow valleys between them were refulgent with crystallized sulphate of lime, which covered the sand in layers about half an inch thick.

At 12 o'clock we came to Wady Amara, and a mile

farther on, to Ain Howara, the same, according to the most prevalent opinion, around which the Israelites encamped three days after the passage of the Red Sea. We passed over this distance, allowing that their first encampment was at the Ayoun Mousa, in about fourteen and a half hours. Our rate of travelling is nearly two and a half miles the hour. Allowing the distance to be thirty-six or thirty-seven miles, it would give twelve miles as a day's journey of the host of Israel. When it is considered that they were two millions, encumbered with infants, invalids, and aged persons, without facilities for transporting them or their baggage, this must be regarded an ample allowance—rather too long than too short a distance. A well-appointed army, composed wholly of able-bodied men, does not exceed, in a long march, twenty miles per day. Our party, well mounted upon dromedaries, barely make twenty-three or twenty-four miles. It is improbable that the Israelites, travelling over the same ground, under every disadvantage, should have exceeded, on an average, half that distance.

These statements go to confirm the opinion that the transit of the Red Sea was made from Wady Bedéa, rather than at Suez. From this point of transit, they advanced three days' journey to Mara, which conforms strictly with the distance between Ayoun Mousa and Ain Howara, at the rate of marching of which such a multitude was capable.

The Wells of Moses are three and a half hours south from Suez; and upon the supposition that the passage was made opposite that town, we must add about nine miles to the distance to Mara, and allow a little more than fifteen miles for each day's march. This is hardly admissible, especially when it is recollected that the immense host had no motive for making extraordinary haste after the pursuit of the Egyptians had ceased by the miracle of the Red Sea.

This fountain is situated in a rocky valley, two or three miles in diameter, which is encompassed by mountains.

It is near the centre, and springs out of the top of a mound, which has the form of a flattened hemisphere, and an elevation of perhaps thirty or forty feet above the general level of the valley. The water rises into a basin, which is formed by the deposite of a hard stony substance, and may be from eight to ten feet long by a breadth somewhat less. In depth it may be five or six feet, and it contains about three feet of water.

In taste the water of this fountain answers the description of the Mara of the Bible. It is too bitter to be drunken without producing a degree of disgust. To me it had the taste of a weak solution of Epsom salts. As we approached the fountain with our cups to try the water, one of the Bedouins exclaimed "Mush taib," "Not good." The camels drank a little of it, but I did not see the Arabs do so, who only use it in cases of necessity. Nearly all of our party were satisfied with a taste, and at once pronounced the water bitter.

One gentleman was of a different opinion. He had attracted attention by the display of some ingenuity in showing that the Israelites probably crossed the Red Sea by the favour of an ebb tide and a strong wind, without either the aid or the need of a miracle, affirming that it is an unsound philosophy which ascribes to miraculous agency events that may be produced by natural causes. He professed much reverence for the veracity of Moses, but made some allowance for his credulity. After drinking pretty freely of the fountain with much apparent satisfaction, he exclaimed as he turned away, "This is fair water—very good; I should be satisfied to drink such water." I remembered the proverb, "de gustibus non," &c., too well to dispute, but I thought I could, in this instance, account for tastes, though another homely adage teaches that this cannot be done. No one can tell how far a strong wish to keep clear of the necessity of believing a miracle may operate even upon his palate.

I was subsequently shown the shrub, now in bloom, whose fruit Moses probably cast into the fountain to correct its bitterness, a result which it was chemically adapted to produce.

Here was another method of avoiding a difficulty, though it is not much easier to reconcile it with common sense than the first with the sense of taste. The transaction is not, indeed, denominated a miracle in the sacred narrative. It is said that when the people murmured for water, "Moses cried unto the Lord; and the Lord showed him a tree, which when he had thrown into the waters, the waters became sweet." Ex., xv., 25. A natural agent seems to have been used to produce a miraculous result, a thing very common in the history of miracles. Elisha healed the fountain near Jericho by casting in salt. If we adopt the hypothesis that the saline bitterness of the waters of Mara was corrected by the natural chemical action of the acid contained in this tree or its product, what quantity of the fruit would be necessary to rectify water sufficient to satisfy the wants of two millions of people? The Bedouins told us, in answer to our inquiries on this subject, that they did not know of any shrub, tree, or fruit by which the bitter waters of the Desert could be rendered fit for use.

The tediousness of our journeying has also been beguiled by many inquiries after the bush that produced the manna; and though we have not yet exactly made the discovery, I do not despair of seeing this wonderful shrub by the time we enter the region where the people murmured for bread. Such speculations may have a tendency to smooth away difficulties, but one would think it more wise to reject the Bible than to take so much pains to teach it a more enlightened philosophy. Could we succeed in discovering the fruit that healed the water, and the shrub which bore food for two millions of mouths, a fresh crop six mornings in every week for forty years, the difficulties that beset the

crossing of the Red Sea are yet not quite dissipated by the blowing of the east wind. An English gentleman, familiar with nautical affairs, said to me to-day, "That theory won't do. Such is the shape of the coast here, that an east wind tends to produce high, not low tide." May we not suspect, however, as navigation was then only in its infancy, that Moses was not very familiar with the cardinal points? We have only to suppose a north wind instead of an east, in order to enjoy the full benefit of this hypothesis.

I ought to say that another bitter fountain, more salt than that of Mara, has been discovered a few miles east from this, on the opposite side of the mountain. This, which he has visited, Mr. Leider believes to be the true Mara of the Scriptures. I do not think, however, that the decisive and concurrent evidence that assigns this distinction to the fountain already described, should be lightly set aside. This seems to me to satisfy all the conditions of the sacred narrative. It is a bitter fountain, situated on the natural route to Sinai, and three days' march from the place of transit. It affords even now a good supply of water, is remarkable for situation, and is surrounded by a plain favourable to the encampment of a large host. There is no assignable reason why the Israelites should have departed from the most easy and travelled way to entangle themselves in mountain defiles. They had no enemies to elude or supplies to obtain by such an inconvenient and uncalled-for deviation from the plain road; and without an express command from Heaven, and under so wise a commander as Moses, they would certainly follow the best and shortest way.

Proceeding in a southeast course, we stopped for the night a little after 3 o'clock, in Wady Gerundel, a noted valley, which extends from the Red Sea far into the interior—some have said, to the frontiers of Syria. This is doubtless a mistake, though it is the most considerable valley I have yet seen. It is now dry, but in rainy

seasons it becomes the channel of a broad and powerful mountain torrent. Unlike the wadies I have described before, it is bounded by ridges of high hills. This vale is commonly described as highly fertile, and filled with palm-trees, shrubs, and verdure. Such is the effect of contrast upon the feelings, that, after travelling several days upon this bare, desolate route, the slightest appearance of vegetation is hailed with peculiar pleasure, and any mitigation of the reigning sterility is apt to be taken for luxuriance and beauty. Wady Gerundel has no soil but drifting sand, and is so far from being covered with verdure, that ninety-nine parts in a hundred of its entire surface are perfectly bare. The palm-groves amount to only eight or ten neglected, stunted trees, which are scattered along the road for a mile or more. These are all that a traveller usually sees, though at a considerable distance from the route, nearer the sea, there are a few more, as our guides informed us. Tamarisks and several other shrubs, on which the camels browse, called by the Bedouins ratim, adama, sama, &c., are scattered thinly over its surface. I also saw a few acacias. The tamarisks grow out of hillocks of sand, often several feet in height, which seem to have been formed at first by the lodgments made by drifting sands under their shelter. The spreading roots gradually gave consistence and permanence to the growing masses, till they have attained the magnitude of little hills; and covered as they are with foliage, they are the chief objects of beauty and interest in this place.

This valley is supposed, I think with good reason, to be the Elim of Moses, the first station of the Israelites after they left Mara, from which Wady Gerundel is not more than eight or nine miles distant. "And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm-trees, and they encamped by the waters." Of the twelve wells, one only remains, of which the water is barely drinkable. It was nearly an hour from our camp. I did not

visit it, but our guides did, who gave us this account. The other wells have probably been filled with drift sand, and might easily be restored. One is sufficient for the use of the Bedouins who pass this way, and the rest are neglected

In all the fountains of the Desert, the water rises very near to the surface of the earth. Wells are of little depth, and if neglected for a short time, become choked with sand, and perhaps lost. At Ayoun Mousa there were lately thirteen wells. I saw only seven, and some of these were nearly filled with sand. A very little labour, however, would restore them, as it probably would those of Elim.

I have already spoken of the palm-trees. These changes are only such as ought to be expected from the revolution of three thousand years in a country like this, while the general features of this valley give strong support to its claims to the honour of being the Elim of Moses. It is on the great road along which the Israelites would naturally march. It is within a practicable distance from Mara, their last station. It unites the indispensable advantages of water and an ample plain for pitching the tents of this immense host, which are not to be found elsewhere in this neighbourhood. I could hear of no other water within several miles southward of this point, and I did not see any other spot adapted to the encampment even of a much smaller army.

Here we met two English gentlemen on their return from Sinai to Cairo. One of them is a geologist in the employment of the pacha, and has been exploring the mountains of Arabia Petræa in quest of mines, as I understood, without success.

March 10. The mountains of this part of the Desert are composed of limestone, which frequently appears in the valleys, though it is usually covered slightly there with sand. That part of Wady Gerundel through which our route lay this morning has been cut by winter torrents into deep chan-

nels, the bottoms and sides of which are composed of limestone of the most beautiful whiteness. A range of mountains of considerable elevation, and of a dark and gloomy aspect, limits the view on the left, at the distance of two or three miles. The intermediate space is filled up with low hills. On the right, and at a greater distance, is another range of still loftier mountains, similar, in their general appearance, to the first; but in many places the brown, disintegrated rock which covered the surface, has been removed by rains, where the limestone, which seems to me to be of unparalleled whiteness, forms a striking and splendid contrast with the dark masses adjacent to it. The view was rendered doubly beautiful by the rays of a brilliant sun, which inundated the side of the mountain, while we were completely sheltered by a dark cloud as we stopped for a moment to gaze upon the scene.

In a little more than an hour, and after ascending some rising ground, and passing two or three narrow gorges, we entered Wady Usita, a valley of sand, enlivened by a few palm-trees and a scanty verdure of shrubs, some of which were scented, and filled the air with an agreeable odour. The mountains that bound Wady Usita are similar to those just described. In the absence of buildings and cultivated fields, the natural features of the country engage our undivided attention; and to this destitution of the improvements of art and industry, as well as to this singleness of regard, it is probably owing that huge masses of naked rocks, a little diversified by nature or by accident, come to be looked upon as objects of uncommon beauty and interest. Certainly, I have never observed the features of nature with a more undivided attention, nor with a more lively satisfaction. The mountains among which we passed the day, seen at the distance most favourable for softening their rougher features, and blending the lights and shades produced by their projecting and receding points, often have the appear-

ance of the background of a beautiful landscape painting. The sides, though not perpendicular, are commonly very steep, and they are covered, for the most part, with flint pebbles, and mouldering, disintegrated rock of a dark hue, but not so thick as to conceal the perfectly regular, horizontal stratification. The rains, which, at times, are abundant in this elevated region, rush down these dingy slopes in an infinite number of small rills, that pursue right lines, perpendicular as well as of every variety of inclination to the horizon, and leave tracts of that brilliant whiteness which I have ascribed already to this limestone. The appearance is still farther diversified by the horizontal lines of the strata; and the entire face of the mountain is thus inscribed with squares, oblongs, and triangles of every conceivable variety. The dark and white lines form a fine contrast, and when illuminated by the dazzling brightness of the sun as it shines upon this desert, the scene is one of great and unique beauty. On approaching nearer, the pleasing illusion vanishes. The little irregularities and zigzags, that passed unobserved in the distance, become visible, and all the homely realities of a side hill washed into gullies are at hand to spoil the picture.

Our whole route, since we passed the fountain of Mara, has been among mountains, which constantly bound the view before and behind, as well as on either hand, and yet leave our road almost perfectly level. The barrier which, seen at a distance, threatened to stop our progress, vanishes as we approach, and an opening ravine, the sandy bed of a wintry torrent, gives us admission into another vale or wady. We have not yet ascended a mountain or a considerable hill. The successive wadies are becoming less steril as we penetrate farther into the mountain region, and are adorned with a more plentiful, though still very scanty verdure. The acacia and the palm are the only trees that I have yet seen in the Desert, and a few species of shrubs,

the ratim, the adama, and the sama, which constitute the chief food of the camel, are found in every valley.

At 11 o'clock we entered Wady Thali. It has a few scattering palms and two or three acacias, with the common shrubs. Some of the low hills which intervene between the plain and the surrounding mountains are covered with black flintstones, which give them the appearance of being sown with charcoal. We next entered Wady Shubaka, where, after an hour, the road divides, one branch opening to the right into Wady Taiba, between two very lofty white cliffs of limestone. This wady extends to the sea, and was probably passed through by the Israelites in their march from Elim (Wady Gerundel) to their next encampment on the shore. Their route to this point is well defined by the natural formation of this region. The masses of Jebel Hommam, which occupy the tract between our course and the sea, extend quite to the shore, leaving no passage on that side for an army, and limiting that of the Israelites to the one which we have followed from Wady Gerundel. Their next station was in the wilderness of Sin, still, it seems probable, by the sea, where, according to the maps, is an extensive sandy plain, stretching far to the south, along the shore. This presumed identity of the route gave to our journey from Suez thus far a peculiar and intense interest. We had now reached a point where it was necessary to choose between the longer route pursued and described by Moses, and the more direct one now chiefly used to Mount Sinai. I should have preferred the former, but it is one of the inconveniences of travelling in a large company, that individual preferences must yield to the general voice. I have in this way lost many valuable opportunities that cannot be recalled. It is commonly impracticable to separate from the caravan to prosecute special objects.

We took the southeast route, which leads through Wady Humar. This valley is more than a mile in width, by sev-

eral miles in length, and is hemmed in by perpendicular cliffs two hundred feet high. Salt in a pure state is found here. Some of the Bedouins left their camels, and running to the base of a high cliff, at a little distance from the route, returned with several large masses of beautiful crystallized salt, equal in whiteness and purity to the best used for the table.

I narrowly escaped receiving a serious injury to-day by the fall of my dromedary. The ground in the place where this happened was rendered slippery by a slight shower which had fallen the previous night. The camel's foot is not formed for such a road, and he fell flat upon his side. I providentially escaped without harm, but learned when to distrust this usually sure-footed animal.

We encamped in a narrow part of the Wady Humar. Just at this point the limestone region terminates, and is succeeded by sandstone formations. While Ibrahim was preparing dinner, I ascended a high point of the mountain, which rose at no great distance from our camp. The summit, which is level, and forms an area of several acres, is covered with a black incrustation about half an inch in thickness, resembling the cinders of a blacksmith's forge. It is broken into fragments, many of which are scattered upon the sides of the mountain. The sandstone of which these mountains are composed is of a very dark gray, while a layer occasionally appears, commonly at a great elevation, of exquisite whiteness. At first I could not believe them to be sandstone; but I found, on examination, that they differed from the adjoining masses in nothing but colour, and their less compact and solid texture.

Fresh water, muddy indeed, but agreeable to the taste, is found in a gorge of the mountain not far from the place of our encampment. It is the first fit for use which we have found since the commencement of our journey from Cairo, and I have, to this evening, made use of that which I brought

in goatskin bottles from the Nile, the best, I think, in the world. It has become rather unpalatable within the last two days, but is still cool and clear. Some of our party brought water in casks instead of skins. It soon became much warmer, and less agreeable to the taste, than that which was contained in the skins; but in the end the latter has been more thoroughly spoiled. I think the preferable way would be to take one cask full, to be reserved till the bottles, which keep the water best for six or eight days, are spent.

It was gratifying to me, as it would be to any thorough temperance man, to observe with what pleasure and pride the Bedouins, after the fatigues of the day's journey, which they perform on foot, seldom mounting the loaded camels, hastened away to obtain a supply of this their wholesome beverage. The one who went for me, laid down a full skin at the door of my tent, with many significant smiles and gestures, exclaiming repeatedly. "Taib! taib!" These people are all fond of coffee, but refuse wine and spirits, and even beer. Our sheik Salah, who is strictly religious, took once incautiously a glass of this favourite English beverage. Another was offered to him in my presence on the subsequent evening. He smelled the cup, and returned it, exclaiming, "Mush taib," "Not good." The dragoman explained to him that it contained neither brandy nor wine; but he would not be satisfied, and wholly refused it afterward.

The manners and habits of these children of the Desert are truly primitive. Having occasion to wash their clothes this evening, they scooped out a basin in the sand, and filled it with water for the purpose. The supply of fresh water seemed to have tempted them to indulge in other luxuries, and I saw them, for the first time, eating hot bread. Each man, or at least each party, has a small kneading trough, hollowed out of a piece of wood, which he carries bound

up in his baggage. In this they mixed a small quantity of the meal of doura, and having formed it into a thin cake, laid it upon the sand, and covered it with a fire made of small sticks. One man at least used dried camel's dung for the purpose. They parched corn or doura, and ate it for breakfast. I am, indeed, constantly reminded of the habits of the patriarchs, and see the domestic scenes so beautifully portrayed in the Old Testament, reacted by the Bedouins. It will be observed, that the simple facts I have just recorded are so many illustrations of the ancient customs with which the Bible has, from our childhood, made us familiar. Their dress is equally illustrative of the Sacred Volume: their sandals, which are merely bits of leather or untanned skins, commonly fishskins, covering the sole of the foot, and fastened by a thong that passes between the first and second toes, over the instep, and around the heel; the girdle, which all wear about the loins, serving as a belt for a long knife or pistols, and as a depository for money, &c.; and their loose, flowing robes, reaching only to the knee, and exposing the legs.

March 11. Our route this morning was for several hours still in Wady Humar, which increases in width soon after the commencement of the sandstone formation. The mountains are blackened with the incrustation already mentioned, which in many places covers their summits, and extends to a considerable distance down their sides. At the end of an hour we passed a defile, where the mountains approach very near to each other. The valley beyond immediately assumes the appearance of a broad plain, and the mountains on the right, declining into hills, recede for several miles. This plain is sprinkled with the common shrubs and a few mimosas. I observed also a number of petrified marine shells. At the end of three hours we ascended a low, stony ridge, which commands a fine view of Wady el Bada, the next stage of our route, and of a long sandy plain beyond it;

of the lofty range of Jebel Tih, which bounds an extensive and beautiful vale for many miles on the left; and in the remote distance, just visible to the eye, of the round tops of the Mountains of Sinai, the object of principal interest before us. About two hours later we passed a pile of stones a small distance from the road. This, as we learned, is the burying-place of a sheik. The man who was leading my camel made a halt opposite this rude monument, and offered an audible prayer, as did many others. The same thing was done by Sheik Salah, who is most exemplary in the duties of religion. He is regular, and, according to the Mohammedan manner, open and ostentatious in his devotions. For the two following hours we were ascending a broad steppe of sand, bounded by mountains and supplied with a scanty verdure. In the midst of this plain are several large masses of basalt, the first I have seen in Arabia. Near its termination is a burying-ground of considerable extent. An upright stone usually stands at the head, and a smaller one at the foot of each grave. As we had seen neither houses nor tents for many days, I inquired who were interred here, and learned that the Bedouins pasture this extensive tract of open country for some months in the winter, but that they have already retreated farther into the mountains towards Sinai, where verdure is more abundant in the warm season. This cemetery is theirs. They call it Camla.

March 12. We slept at a place rendered interesting by a change in the geological character of the region. The sandstone, of which the mountains have hitherto been composed, disappears, and is succeeded by granite, gray occasionally, but mostly red.

In less than half an hour after leaving our camp we ascended a gentle slope, and entered a sandy plain of no great extent, which the Arabs call Debby. In the centre is a cemetery similar to the one above described, with the ex-

ception that it contains three small enclosures encompassed by rude walls scarcely two feet high, which are the burying-places of sheiks. In one was a small earthen pot, placed there to be replenished with water by travellers. Another enclosure, which belongs to Sheik Ahmet, a holy man, is planted with shrubs. The situation of these graves is the finest that can be conceived of. From the little Debby or sandy plain, of which they occupy the centre, radiate five deep valleys, which open so many short vistas into the interminable mass of mountains that fills the entire region. Standing at the burying-ground, the eye commands all of these outlets.

From this romantic valley we entered, through a deep pass of the mountain, into a narrow ascending vale, very stony, but containing a great many acacias and shrubs. We travelled three hours and a quarter between mountains, which no longer form regular ranges, but rise into ragged peaks and unshapely masses of a great variety of forms. They are composed of granite and porphyry, with some greenstone, and exhibit a curious variety of colours—gray, brick-red, black, green, &c. The gorges that separate the different peaks are narrow and precipitous. Regular walls of porphyry, rising five or six feet above the adjacent rock, and from five to twelve feet in thickness, run along the sides and summits of the mountain, and transversely quite down to the bottom of the valleys, imparting to the whole region a very peculiar appearance. The granite peaks are often topped with shining, black masses, forming with them, as with the prominent porphyry strata that checker the sloping sides, a striking and beautiful contrast.

We entered Wady el Boork about 11 o'clock. This valley is covered with decomposed granite, which gives to it a reddish cast. The mountains of red granite on either hand have all the peculiarities of those just described, and are similarly diversified with shining bulwarks of dark porphy-

ry. These perpendicular strata have, in many places, been decomposed by the action of the elements, and the rains have removed the debris, and left the deep, narrow chasms which intervene between the numerous isolated peaks that crown these mountains. Large masses of greenstone occasionally appear near the base of the mountain, and their decomposition has covered considerable tracts of the valley with pale-green debris.

Our special attention was attracted by an isolated mass of red granite, situated a considerable distance from the mountain. It may be fifteen high by ten in diameter, and it stands on three small points or feet, like a tripod. Some convulsion may have reared it in its present position.

In Wady Bara we saw an immense block of red granite, perhaps forty feet high by twenty-five or thirty square, covered with inscriptions in an unknown language. Learned travellers have laboured in vain upon this unintelligible record. There is a cavity near the top, into which the passers-by endeavour to throw small stones, and it contains a multitude of the missiles of successful aspirants.

Near the termination of this wady the granite mountains approach so near as to form a narrow passage of, perhaps, one hundred yards wide. They rise to a great elevation, and a vast number of cavities, of every variety of form and extent, give to their sides the appearance of an immense sponge. These cavities have been formed by the decomposition of portions of the rock, which were slightly combined. Large masses lying at the base of the mountain fall to pieces on being struck with a stick or the foot. Within a short distance of this pass the colour of the granite abruptly changes from red to gray. The two opposite ridges both experience the transformation at the same point. At this interesting place Jebel Sherbal, one of the highest mountains of Arabia, bursts upon the view fifteen or twenty miles distant, and on the right of our direction. It rises

in many lofty, ragged peaks, separated from each other by deep, narrow gorges. I have never seen a mountain of similar appearance. It would seem to have been cast up from the bowels of the earth in a state of fusion by some mighty throe of nature, and instantaneously cooled. I cannot better describe its form as seen from this point, than by comparing it to an immense mass of stalactites inverted. A multitude of small, conical hills rise far below these lofty summits, around the base. They appeared black and gloomy, not unlike the accumulations in the precincts of an ancient furnace.

After a day of great excitement and fatigue, we encamped in Wady Sheik.

March 13. We were in motion a little after seven this morning, excited by the near prospect of rest, and of the gratification of beholding Mount Sinai and its hallowed environs. We passed first through Wady Sahib, and then through Wady Salaf, as well as I could understand the names from our guides. The general features of the Desert remain essentially the same, except that the mountains are lower and more broken, and are more abundantly checkered with the shining veins or walls of porphyry, the colour of which has changed from black to red. The surface only is red, while the interior is a dark gray. It has a strong tendency to decomposition, and the debris have imparted their hue to broad tracts adjacent to these upright strata.

By 11 o'clock we began to ascend towards a gap in the mountains, through which lay our route to Sinai. A perpendicular ridge, composed of gravel and sand, extended directly across our road, but a deep ravine, formed by the rains, had reduced this elevation and made the ascent easy. We soon advanced upon a table land of a stony and unequal surface, embraced by two arms, which stretched out a mile or more from the mountain before us in the form of a semicircle. Nuked Howa, the gap through which the

Mountains of Sinai are entered, cuts this arc in the centre. At this point a deep ravine commences, the bottom of which is the bed of a torrent, now nearly dry. The mountains on the right and left, though not perpendicular, are very steep and lofty, and their rapidly sloping sides meet at the bottom of the gorge and form the channel of the torrent. We ascended along its western side by a winding way, so narrow that the camels advanced with difficulty, and their bulky loads frequently came into violent collision with projecting points of rock, which pressed upon our path. A sort of pavement has been formed for a short distance by arranging some large flat stones in a line. In other places the path is worn into the rock by the tread of the camel; but for the greater part of the way no attempt has been made to lessen the natural difficulties that seemed to forbid our advance. As we had to clamber up the successive steeps over immense piles of loose or rolling stones, the camels often stopped, and, looking back and down into the deep ravine on the left, uttered piteous groans, and were with difficulty compelled to proceed. They several times kneeled down to have their burdens lightened, and manifested great reluctance to prosecute their painful journey over these threatening rocks, that seemed to rise interminably before them. So much intelligence excited a degree of sympathy not often felt for beasts of burden. A great number of huge masses of rock, disengaged from the heights above, had tumbled from their native bed into the abysses below, lodging in the bottom and upon the sides of the mountain in indescribable confusion. Three of these masses, perhaps thirty feet in height, standing together on the right hand, have some large cavities near the top, into which travellers amuse themselves by throwing stones; and a great number of these missiles lodged in their aërial depositories bear testimony to the skill of the archers. The eastern cliff is almost perpendicular, eight hundred or one thousand feet high, and its front,

like that of the opposite mountain on the west, contains an infinite number of cavities of the most various forms and sizes, which give to these stupendous masses the appearance, upon a mammoth scale, of worm-eaten timber. Their summits are ragged and irregular, shooting up into black, threatening peaks, which are separated to great depths by narrow, dark, perpendicular gorges. We were surprised to find an improving vegetation in a region of so forbidding an aspect. Several neglected date-trees find root in the fissures of the rock; and the first figs I had seen since leaving Egypt were here, as well as the first blade of grass. I have nowhere seen so wild and awful a defile. It seemed, indeed, a fitting approach to Mount Sinai, and it is well calculated to fill the mind with serious thought and dark images.

We were two hours admiring the magnificent features and struggling with the difficulties of this scene of gloomy and wild sublimity. At 1 o'clock we had completed the ascent. We now advanced through a narrow, uneven pass for a few minutes more, when our guides, pointing eagerly to the dark, rugged mountain which began to rise before us, and evidently sharing with us the interest of the occasion, exclaimed in loud, exulting tones, "Jebel Mousa! Jebel Mousa!" The valley, which was here of inconsiderable width, gradually expanded into an extensive plain, bounded on the right and left by very high, dark ridges of granite, divided into many ragged, perpendicular peaks by gorges, which cut them almost to the base. Athwart the valley, immediately in our front, and at the distance of nearly two miles, Mount Sinai rose abruptly in our view, to the height of fifteen hundred feet or more, in frowning, perpendicular cliffs. As seen from this point, it is nearly isolated, being separated by deep valleys on the east and west, as well as on the south, from the immense dreary piles of granite that fill up the surrounding region. The dry and rocky bed of a wild torrent runs along at no great distance from its base;

from this a swelling table-land, composed of sandstone and gravel, extends to the foot of the towering rocks, which rise in dark, broad masses to the region of clouds. I cannot doubt that the associations which haunt this region had a great influence upon my feelings; but sure I am, I never looked upon a scene of such awful, overpowering grandeur. I was then unacquainted with the controversies that exist with regard to these localities, and had no doubt that I stood before the real Sinai, where the law was given in the midst of "thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud." It was a time of profound, overwhelming emotion. I was on holy ground, and for the time seemed one of the living mass of millions who, three thousand years ago, stood upon this plain, full of trembling and awe, with their faces turned towards the frowning, flaming battlements, where their captain had gone up to talk with the Lord. I could not withdraw my full eyes from the "Mount of God," the holy place where the Almighty had dwelt and shown his glory; nor, when I thought of the circumstances of terror and majesty with which he was pleased to invest his transient dwelling-place, could I fix them steadily there.

We had not advanced more than half the length of Wady el Raha, when it began to rain. I had suffered from the violent heat early in the day, which had gradually subsided as we ascended the mountain, and left a chilliness in the atmosphere that was calculated to remind us of more northern latitudes. We quickened our pace towards the monastery of St. Catherine, the usual and only lodging-place for Christian travellers. It is situated in a narrow, deep ravine, under the eastern side of Mount Sinai, and about half a mile beyond the southern termination of Wady el Raha. The approach is obstructed by masses of rock and loose stones, which were, with some difficulty, surmounted, and we were soon before the entrance of the convent. It has no door, and travellers, as well as their effects, are drawn up by a

windlass to the height of about thirty feet, close under the roof, and pulled into a window, precisely as bales of goods are elevated to the upper story of a warehouse. It is said that, in former times, the Bedouins had, by some means, obtained the right of entrance whenever the door was opened, which was only on special occasions. This was attended with danger as well as great inconvenience and expense, and as it was impracticable to abolish the custom, the door was walled up, and now all persons are admitted into the convent through the window. No Bedouin enters besides the servants of the establishment, and sometimes a sheik is admitted on business.

Some of our party, who had taken the precaution to send their letters of introduction in advance, were soon hoisted aloft, and allowed to enter. Mine, which I had obtained from the Greek convent, through the agency of the American consul in Cairo, was locked up in my trunk, and that was lashed upon a camel under other baggage. After some delay, made more irksome by the rain, it was elevated by the rope and sent in to the superior, and I was told to wait for his permission to enter. In the mean time the machinery was fully occupied in raising the baggage of those who had already found shelter from the rain. I waited what seemed to me to be half an hour or more without receiving the message of welcome, and not caring to delay longer under circumstances so little propitious, seated myself in the rope, and was slowly raised aloft to the window. I looked more than once to see if the rope was of unquestionable strength. It is, altogether, not a pleasant way of gaining admittance to shelter and hospitality. I passed through the piles of baggage, which nearly blocked up the passage, and with some difficulty found my blind and devious way into the presence of the acting principal. The real chief was absent, and his functions seemed not to be well performed by the subaltern. So large a company had never visited the

convent before, and he was evidently puzzled to know how to dispose of us. The two or three rooms fitted up for travellers were already full, and yet we were not half provided for. Some time was spent in reading the letters. Then we were told that only a little more delay was necessary to arrange the apartments. After an hour spent shivering in an open corridor, my urgent inquiries for a room were answered by letting me know that the acting principal had gone to prayers. At length a place was found for us all, but not till we had begun to feel the ungraciousness of our reception. After all, the difficulty, probably, grew out of embarrassment occasioned by our unusual numbers, and the inexperience of the monk accidentally at the head of affairs.

We were to stay at the convent for several days, and our guides being now upon the territory of their own tribe, and near their most usual residence, dispersed with their camels, to spend the time with their families. We had found them very civil and useful upon our journey, always ready to aid in rearing the tent, procuring water, kindling the fire, or in any other way. They seemed solicitous to please, and I soon came to regard them with much kindness and respect. One of those in my immediate employment was a fine boy, perhaps fifteen years of age. He was always in a good humour, and desirous of doing something to oblige me. We soon learned to converse so far as was needful for our purpose, by the use of a very few Arabic words which I had picked up, and a multitude of signs which one soon learns to understand and employ when left a good deal to the society and services of a people who speak an unknown tongue. The Bedouins expect frequent gratuities of food, coffee, &c., upon the journey, for which travellers should provide before leaving Egypt. It is a cheap and effectual way of winning their kindness and good offices. Harsh language and blows, so much used by the Franks in

managing the fellahs, do not answer for Bedouins in the Desert. They are proud-spirited, and feel and resent indignities. My dragoman, Ibrahim, who ought to have known better, provided himself with a corbash in Cairo, which he found occasion to use before we had proceeded many hours on our route. The boy just referred to came to me with indignant complaints, showing a mark upon the leg which had just been inflicted by Ibrahim in an ebullition of passion, or for the assertion of his proper dignity in the new office to which he had been promoted. Sheik Salah seconded the remonstrances of the injured youth with much earnestness. I would have discharged the cowardly, tyrannical Egyptian from my service on the spot, had it been possible to supply his place. As it was, I could only administer a sharp rebuke, and exact a promise from him to treat the Bedouins with more equity and consideration in future. Salah was satisfied and even delighted at the high degree of displeasure which I evinced, and the boy and I were soon on the most friendly terms. He was constantly near to lead my dromedary when I wished to walk; to pluck a shrub which I desired to examine, or to share my lunch.

Beyond making rather free with our water-bottles, which they seemed to think their right, especially as they were always ready to replenish them when we passed near a fountain, I did not hear of a single act of pilfering among the large retinue of Bedouins attached to our caravan. Our Egyptian servants were not always so exemplary. Salah was always punctual in the performance of his religious duties, for which he would kneel before the door of our tents, or upon the camel furniture. He was the only one, I believe, whom I saw at the regular prayers. The rest seemed quite indifferent to religion, and, from all I could gather from my inquiries, are little more than nominal Mussulmen.

Our caravan, which was made up of five distinct parties,

wholly unconnected except by the accident of travelling together, had as many head guides, who were dignified by the name of sheiks, though only one or two of them enjoy that distinction among their tribes. They all belong to the Towarahs, a general name for five or six clans or tribes who live among the mountains of Sinai and their vicinity. They are very poor, having some camels, goats, and a few sheep, but no horses or cows, which could not subsist upon the coarse and meager pasturage afforded by these steril regions. They have also some fowls, and brought a few eggs and chickens for sale. Their bread-corn, as well as the beans fed to the camels when on hard service, are brought from Cairo on the backs of these animals. They carry a little charcoal made of the branches of the acacia, and a small quantity of gum derived from a species of the same tree, to that market, which seem to be their only articles of export, with the exception of now and then a camel. Their most gainful pursuit, and that upon which they seem in a great measure dependant for subsistence, is the transportation of travellers and pilgrims to and from Sinai, which is a monopoly, and the carriage of merchandise between Cairo and Suez. This last branch of their business will increase in importance with the opening communication with India, and may not improbably lead to the acquisition of comparative wealth, and to some progress in civilization, by these rude but interesting sons of the Desert. It is doubtful, however, whether the temptations of gain will be strong enough to lead them to renounce their nomadic life, which possesses for their wild, untutored minds, attractions of the most fascinating kind. A considerable number of families have been induced to settle in Egypt and engage in agriculture, who are said to have become attached to their new mode of life; but they are looked upon with the utmost contempt by their untamed countrymen, as degraded and enslaved fellahs, who have basely renounced their high birthright of unfettered freedom.

These poor Bedouins evidently love their arid plains and hideous mountains with an affection unknown to the occupants of more genial regions. They show signs of pleasure, and even of exultation, upon passing out of Cairo into the pure air of the Desert, which no traveller can fail to observe in their buoyant step and animated conversation, and overflowing, joyous hilarity. This affection for wastes and hideous, wide-spreading desolateness, springs from some principle of our nature too deep for my philosophy; but surely no part of the earth possesses these inexplicable fascinations in a higher degree than the region stretching from he valley of the Nile to the mountains of Sinai.

No reflection forced itself upon me so often or so urgently, in passing over the track of the Israelites, as the utter and universal inaptitude of this country for the sustenance of animal life. It really seems to possess no elements favourable to human existence besides a pure atmosphere, and no appearances favour the supposition that it was ever essentially better. I am filled with wonder that so many travellers should task their ingenuity to get clear of the miracles which, according to the narrative of Moses, were wrought to facilitate the journey of that vast, unwieldy host, when it is demonstrable that they could not have subsisted three days in this Desert without supernatural resources. The extensive region, through which we were twelve days in passing on dromedaries, is, and ever must have been, incapable of affording food sufficient to support even a few thousand, or a few hundred people for a month in the year. There is no corn-land nor pasturage—no game nor roots—hardly any birds or insects, and the scanty supply of water is loathsome to the taste, provoking rather than appeasing thirst. What could the two millions of Israel have eaten without the miracles of the manna and the quails? How could they have escaped destruction by drought but for the healing of the waters of Mara?—a miracle

that was probably repeated in Wady Gerundel, and at the other salt wells on their route to Sinai. So of the transit of the Red Sea: had they continued their route around the Gulf of Suez, it is manifest that a few thousand well-appointed troops could have cut them up upon their march, and rendered their escape impossible, unless a miracle in some other form had been interposed for their protection and deliverance. A greater prodigy would it have been than any, or all, alleged to have been wrought for their salvation, if two millions of men, women, and children, unarmed, servile, and destitute, had succeeded in escaping from Egypt in the face of a powerful and well-provided enemy, and in effecting their march through that barren waste—a route impracticable by the best disciplined army, aided by the resources of great and wealthy nations.

One of the chief difficulties which I meet with in the narrative of Moses is that of accounting for the subsistence of the numerous herds and flocks that belonged to the retreating host. We hear of no miraculous provision for their support, and it seems incredible that they could have subsisted upon the scanty verdure afforded by the flinty soil of the Desert, after making all possible allowance for its deterioration by the physical changes of three thousand years. They were probably much less numerous than we are accustomed to suppose from the very general and indefinite language used in the Bible upon this subject; and they were undoubtedly dispersed over the whole region lying between the long range of mountains now known as Jebel Raha and Jebel Tih on the east, and the Red Sea on the west. This might easily have been done, as the country seems not to have been peopled, and the march between Suez and the neighbourhood of Sinai was unmolested by enemies. The stations or encampments enumerated in the thirty-third chapter of Numbers were the headquarters, while many of the people must always have been separated from the

main body of the host, seeking food for their flocks of sheep and cattle in the neighbouring valleys.

I fear that some errors may be found to exist in the names I have attempted to give to various objects and localities upon the route from Suez. I entered upon this journey unexpectedly, and unprovided with proper books and maps. None were to be had in Cairo but "The History of Arabia, Ancient and Modern," in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library. This I found to be worthless. An English gentleman had Mr. Stephens's Incidents of Travel, which, lively and interesting as they are known to be, deal but little in details. I was indebted to an intelligent Bohemian, a captain in the Austrian army, for an occasional reference to a German edition of Burckhardt, which he was so obliging as to read into English for my benefit. The Bible, too, was always at hand, and it certainly proved the most useful as well as the most interesting book that can be taken by the traveller upon this route. It was pleasing to see with what avidity it was consulted in questions of history and nomadic customs by those least addicted to its perusal. In the matter of names, however, I was left mostly to our Towarah guides, from whose pronunciation I wrote them as well as I could. I often found their accounts contradictory, and have reason to believe that their statements even on subjects with which they might be presumed to be most familiar, are entitled to less weight than, in the absence of all other sources of information, travellers are compelled to give them. They are very ignorant and credulous. None of them can read a word, and I could but suspect that they often pretended to knowledge which they did not possess, because the inquiries of former travellers whom they were employed to escort, had taught them that something in this way is expected of them.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Mount Sinai.—Ascent.—Egress from the Convent.—Garden of the Convent.—Artificial Steps.—Obstructions.—Mountain Springs.—Chapel of the Virgin.—Monkish Legends.—Gates.—View.—Valley of the Cypress.—Verdure.—Chapel of Elias.—Portrait.—The Ascent.—Low Temperature.—Summit of Sinai.—Church and Mosque.—Grotto.—Legend of the Monks.—Noble View.—General Character and Aspect of the Sinai Mountains.—Wild and various Forms.—Colours.—Their awful Sublimity.—A fit Theatre for Divine Manifestations.—Station of Moses during the Battle with the Amalekites.—Camel's Track.—The Sinai of the Monks not the Sinai of Moses.—Horeb.—Jebel Sooksafa.—Wady el Raha.—Wady Sheik.—The Camp of the Israelites.—Ascent of Sooksafa.—Ignorance of the Bedouins and Monks.—Difficulties of the Ascent.—Character of the Mountain.—Perilous Situation.—The Summit of Sooksafa.—Reasons for believing Sooksafa to be the true Sinai.—Lord Lindsay's Opinion.—Objections to it.—His Objections to Sooksafa.—The Decalogue on Mount Sinai.—Descent from the Mountain.—Impassable Ravines.—Unsuccessful Attempts to reach the Valley.—Anxious Moments.—Imprudence.—Return to the Convent.—Jebel Mennagia.—Its Elevation and General Character.—Valley of Rephidim.—Jebel Mennagia not the true Sinai.—Wady el Deir.—Traditionary Objects around Jebel Sooksafa.—Description of the Convent.—Romantic Situation.—The Buildings.—Charities of the Monks.—Their Bread.—Arab Servants.—Interior of the Convent.—Corridors.—Chambers.—Style of Workmanship.—Tour of the Convent.—The Chapels.—Doubtful Interpretation.—Legends.—The Mosque.—Its Origin.—The Church, its Origin, Ornaments, and Traditions.—St. Catherine.—Library.—Wolf, the Missionary.—Unique Cemetery.—The Monks.—Their Ignorance and Indolence.—Influence upon the Bedouins.—Their Hospitality.—Ill-disguised Cupidity.—Prices.—Arak.—Drunken Servants.—Gardens of the Convent.—Mechanical Skill of the Monks.—Influence of the Monastic Life.—Monkish Traditions.—The Rock of Horeb.—The Valley of Rephidim.—Probably near to Sinai.—Sinai and Horeb.—Springs on Mount Sinai.—Geographical Position.—Number and Mode of Life of the Monks.

MARCH 14. Our first enterprise was the ascent of Mount Sinai. The fatigues of our journey through the wilderness had prepared our party for sound repose, which was protracted by some of them to a rather late hour this morning.

Established habit and the inspiring scenes with which I was surrounded did not permit me to sleep after the first dawn of day; but nothing was to be done till a late hour, except to gaze upon the lofty peaks of the mountains, which almost overhang the monastery. About 10 o'clock we left our gloomy cells, not by the window through which our ascent had been achieved, but by a low arched passage, almost perfectly dark, and barely wide enough to allow of our egress without particular inconvenience. It is secured with iron doors, scarcely four feet in height. After feeling our way with our heads bowed low towards the earth, to avoid a contact with the top of the passage, the distance of, perhaps, fifty yards, we found ourselves in the garden of the convent. Compared with all I had seen during this journey, it was a paradise indeed. The industry of man has here achieved a complete victory over the sterility of nature. Tall cypresses, olives, pomegranates, apricots, almond, pear, fig, apple, and other fruit trees, many of them now in full bloom, presented a scene of luxuriant beauty peculiarly grateful to the eye after its long and painful familiarity with bare rocks, and arid, gloomy wastes of sand.

Visiters have free use of this entrance during the day, and by it ladies are admitted into the convent. From the garden we passed through an open gate, kept by a porter, to the narrow, rocky slope that lies between the convent and the mountain. We then proceeded southward for a quarter of an hour, when we arrived at the bottom of a narrow, steep ravine, which leads up towards the top of Sinai. The ascent is difficult and extremely laborious. Rough masses of granite have been arranged into a kind of stairs a great part of the way; but many of them are now displaced, and no skill seems to have been used in choosing the most eligible route, or in obviating the natural difficulties of the ascent. The ravine is choked up by rolling stones and many huge masses of rock, which have been

arrested in their descent from the higher regions of the mountain. Frequent detours are necessary to pass around projecting points in the rock, and at the end of more than an hour we found ourselves but half way up the toilsome steep.

Several objects of interest occur on the way to invite momentary repose and lighten the toils of the ascent. Beautiful fountains burst out of the rock, and form a sparkling torrent, which runs along the bottom of the ravine, sinking sometimes under the shelving rocks and immense accumulations, and again reappearing. We often had recourse to its cool, clear waters to quench our thirst, which was provoked by extreme toil and the rays of the sun, that exerted great power in this deep glen, though we shivered with cold before reaching the summit of the mountain. We were first stopped by our guide, a monk from the convent, to examine a fountain which springs up in a deep grot formed by an overhanging mass of granite He assigned to it a miraculous origin in connexion with a holy shoemaker, concerning whom he related a silly story. A little farther on is a small chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, built of rough, unhewn stones, and destitute of all elegance or ornament. It stands upon a spot where the Holy Mother appeared to the monks when, in a fit of despondency, they were preparing to desert the sacred precincts about Mount Sinai. She encouraged them to remain, promising exemption from the plague and from vermin in all future time—a pledge which they affirm she has fully redeemed. The promise, I suppose, did not extend to visiters, at least the latter clause of it.

Another laborious effort along the steep path, which was here overhung by tall cliffs, brought us to a small gateway, to which the projecting points of rock at this place narrowed the ravine. Here, as we were told, a porter was formerly stationed, to whom a permission from the controlling

authority of the establishment was delivered by those who wished to ascend to the top of Sinai. This precaution was probably suggested by the danger of the times, and is now neglected when no longer necessary. In a few minutes more we reached another gate, similar to the first, and built for a similar purpose, where a second permission was required, an excess of caution which shows the fears of the monks no less than the actual perils of the times. Nothing can exceed the grandeur of the view enjoyed by the spectator on this part of the route, especially when he turns and looks down upon the yawning gulf he has left behind him. Before him opens an unexpected scene of loveliness. There is a deep valley, bounded on the right and left by tall, bare cliffs. A magnificent and graceful cypress, which rises near its centre, invites the weary pilgrim to repose in its shade, and a well of excellent water offers him its welcome refreshment. Favoured by the congenial moisture of this elevated region, small plots of grass flourish with a luxuriance unknown in the valleys below. Our guide here kindled a fire, and urged us to partake of a cup of coffee. He consented, however, to carry his apparatus and provisions to the summit of the mountain, whither we were anxious to proceed without farther delay.

At a little distance beyond this delicious resting-place is a small chapel, rudely constructed, like all the edifices on the Holy Mount, and dedicated to the prophet Elias. Here, according to the tradition, that wonderful man had the memorable interview with the Almighty, after his flight from the persecuting rage of Jezebel. It is certain that Mount Horeb afforded a refuge to the prophet, but that this is the precise spot where he heard the still small voice which followed the thunder and the earthquake, can hardly be known with certainty. Our credulous guide, who takes the most marvellous account for the true, showed us the cavern where the prophet slept, and even the tomb where he was buried. A coarse,

heavy portrait which hangs in this chapel passes for that of Elijah.

The top of the mountain still rose high above us, and the undiminished toil of the ascent was compensated by the increasing sublimity of the view. The atmosphere was now chilly, and the rocks, down which the water of a small rivulet trickled, were covered with ice. In two hours and a quarter from the commencement of the ascent, not including stops, we had reached the summit of Sinai.

Two small buildings nearly cover the level in which the mountain terminates, the one a Christian chapel, the other a mosque. The first edifice covers, according to the teaching of the monks, the spot where the Almighty dictated the law to Moses. Just by, we were shown a grotto where the prophet was sheltered while the glory of God passed by, and from which he was indulged with such a view of the Divine presence as is allowed to a mortal. Our guide crept under the shelving rock, and put himself in the attitude of Moses, whom he represented as peeping through a small hole. In the same place and posture he was when he wrote the law as it was dictated to him by the Almighty. It was painful to listen to tales of credulity and fiction uttered in such a place.

The view from the top of Sinai is said to be greatly surpassed by that from Mount St. Catherine, which lies a short distance to the southwest. From its greater elevation, a wider field is spread out before the spectator, and a greater number of interesting objects embraced. It is destitute, however, of sacred associations, and my strength was too heavily tasked in exploring places of easier access and at least equal interest, to allow me the gratification of making the ascent. As I do not propose, then, to look from St. Catherine, I may reasonably despair of enjoying another view embracing such a range of grand and impressive objects as that from the summit of Sinai. The region through

which our route had lain for several days was spread out like a map before the eye, and the long ranges of limestone mountains, and the sandy valleys between them, were seen with great distinctness. The view towards the west and northwest is less extensive. The higher summits of St. Catherine conceal the Red Sea and Suez, which are visible from its top. These remote objects, however, are not those in which I was most deeply interested. My gaze was fixed upon a field of perhaps thirty or forty miles in diameter, filled with mountains very similar, in their structure and appearance, to Sinai, and embraced under that general name. I have seen nothing like them elsewhere, and I quite despair of conveying an adequate idea of them by description. The pencil in a skilful hand might be more successful. There is nothing deserving the name of a chain or range of mountains. No one appears to be more than from five to eight miles in length, and nearly all of them are much shorter. With a general and remarkable similarity in form and aspect, they are independent and distinct masses, separated by deep, narrow valleys, which are sometimes visible, but generally concealed from the eye of the spectator on the top of Sinai, the highest point, with, I believe, two exceptions, in the entire group. This circumstance often gives a cluster of separate mountains the appearance of being one vast pile, surmounted by a number of lofty pinnacles. These summits, observed more carefully, or from other positions, are discovered to be the combs of short, but distinct ridges, divided into a number of tall, slender peaks by deep ravines, which are formed by the dissolution of perpendicular strata of porphyry interposed between the more solid masses of granite. They remind one of the slender, lofty towers that rise at regular intervals upon the walls of a Saracenic fortress.

I have spoken of the Arabian mountains as destitute of trees and verdure. Stunted trees and a scanty shrubbery

are occasionally found in deep valleys, where springs or rain supply the requisite moisture, but they are wholly unobserved in a general view, and lend not a single tint to the general aspect. Upon the lower sides of these mountains, and, less frequently, near their summits, are many immense masses of rock, which occasionally present a smooth and unbroken surface. For the most part, however, the slopes of the mountain are full of shelves and cavities formed by the dissolution of the less solid portions of the rock, which has the appearance of being a mere shell. The tall and slender masses which shoot up above the main body of the mountain, sometimes present a columnar appearance, and they occasionally remind one of the clustered ornaments of some old Gothic tower.

The colour of these mountains, though very various, is uniformly dark and sombre. In some of the less elevated masses the greenstone formation prevails, which, being easily decomposed and diffused by the rains, tinges the whole region below with a dull, yellowish green. Where porphyry predominates, it imparts its own hue to the higher portions of the mountain, and a number of considerable tracts have their surface of a brick-red colour; but by far the largest part of this singular collection of mountains is composed of red granite, whose bright and beautiful hues, time and the elements have converted into a dull, reddish brown. Other shades appear in various localities, but I have enumerated those which predominate and control the aspect of the whole. All is dark and gloomy in hue, and sublimely magnificent in altitude and form.

The eye of a spectator upon the top of Sinai ranges over hundreds of these wild, dark masses, which might seem to have been specially formed by the hand of God to be the theatre of his Divine manifestations, and to give the highest sanction and effect to the precepts of morality and religion promulgated on Mount Sinai. It is not given us to compre-

hend the reasons which guided Infinite Wisdom in the choice of circumstances—why the law was delivered in the midst of thunder and earthquakes on Mount Sinai, while the gospel was promulgated in the simple accents of a mild and persuasive benevolence. We may be sure, however, that these sublime and awful manifestations were wisely adapted to the age, to the dispensation, and to the character and condition of the people. Barbarous, ignorant, debased, and depraved by ages of bondage and grinding oppression, it was necessary, perhaps, to accompany the revelations of the Divine will by such displays as should impress most deeply their feelings and imaginations. Hence those exhibitions on the mountain, the sight of which was so terrible that Moses himself said, "I exceedingly fear and quake." We do no violence to probability by applying this principle upon a broader scale, and supposing that "the great and terrible wilderness," and the no less dreary and savage mountains which it imbosoms, were selected, or even formed, with reference to this great moral effect. No one who duly appreciates the influence of the Decalogue upon the destinies of the human race, can suspect that this magnificent array of circumstances was disproportioned to the importance of the end.

In our descent from the mountain we were shown the place where Moses stood during the battle with the Amalekites in the vale of Rephidim. That valley, as pointed out by our guide, is little more than a mile southeast of the position occupied by the prophet. In another part of the route we were called aside by the Mohammedan interpreter, the medium of communication between the monk, who speaks only Turkish, and ourselves, to see the track of a camel which is deeply imprinted in the rock. It was the camel of Mohammed, who ascended the holy mountain—the interpreter could not tell how, or on what occasion—that had left this miraculous vestige. Indisputably it was like

the track of a camel, and its history, as given by the Mussulman, was, to say the least, as satisfactory and credible as much that we had listened to from our Christian guide.

I returned to the convent, satisfied that the tradition of the monks is wholly at fault in fixing upon the summit which I had visited as the Mount Sinai of the Bible. In several respects it fails to satisfy the conditions of the Scripture narrative. There is no large plain sufficient for the encampment of such a multitude as composed the host of Israel, from which the summit of this mountain, and the transactions of which Sinai was the theatre, could have been seen. The miraculous manifestations of the Divine power, and the symbols of his presence, are represented as having been plainly visible to the people. So, also, the ascent of Moses took place in sight of "all the people," all of which was quite impracticable, admitting the hypothesis of the convent.

The summit which we ascended to-day, the monkish Sinai, rises at the southeast extremity of a mountain, not more than two and a half or three miles in length, extending from northwest to southeast. The opposite end of this short mountain consists of another lofty summit, between which and the Sinai of the monks is the deep valley already described, containing the cypress and the church of Elias. The monks give to the northern elevation the name of Horeb. So far as I was able to comprehend their confused statements, they apply the same name to the whole of the mountain, confining that of Sinai to the particular elevation which rises south of the valley of the cypress tree. The Arabs denominate the whole mountain Jebel Mousa, and the northwestern extremity Sooksafa. Lord Lindsay gives Jebel Shereyk as the Arab name; but the few Bedouins who assign to this summit a particular appellation, agree, so far as I could learn, in calling it Jebel Sooksafa. Others apply to it the general name of Jebel Mousa; but none of

whom I inquired knew anything of it as Jebel Shereyk. This is the mountain which seems to be exclusively entitled to the name of Sinai, and which I do not doubt was the theatre of those wonderful transactions which have invested this desolate region with an interest so peculiar.

Jebel Sooksafa rises from a broad and spreading base into several high and almost perpendicular peaks. It has an aspect of awful and imposing grandeur, and though inferior to the neighbouring summit in elevation, far surpasses it in effect. It perfectly overlooks the extensive valley of El Raha, which stretches from its base northward about two miles, with a breadth varying from less than half a mile to nearly a mile. Wady el Sheik, which enters from the east, crosses Wady el Raha immediately in front or north of the mountain, adding largely to the extent of the level region, and to the facilities for the encampment of a host. This is the only spot in this vicinity where a large army could encamp. It possesses every advantage for that purpose, and no one, after obtaining some knowledge of the neighbourhood of Sinai, can hesitate to believe that this was the plain occupied by the camp of Israel during the time of the giving of the law. Tradition, indeed, with, I believe, the concurrence of every traveller, has fixed the encampment here; but, with strange inconsistency and disregard of the facts stated in the Bible, it has given the name of Sinai, and the honour of the Divine manifestations, to the southern summit of the mountain, which is wholly invisible from this valley.

March 16. I spent this day in exploring the summits at the northern extremity of Jebel Mousa, the Sooksafa of the Bedouins. It was an excursion of much interest, but involving great fatigue and anxiety. I left the convent with Mr C., by the passage leading into the garden, about 9 A.M. We took no guide, as we were unable to find one who professed to have any knowledge of the way. The

Bedouins, to whom we addressed our inquiries, and from whom we learned the name of this end of the mountain, assured us that there were no paths to direct us, and they declined serving us as guides in our proposed attempt. From the monks we could obtain no information with regard to the topography, or particular name of a stupendous mountain which actually rises from the walls and gardens of the convent.

Our conductor up Mount Sinai, who is the regular guide for travellers exploring the vicinity, and who is probably the best informed man in the convent on such subjects, told us that he was wholly unacquainted with this mountain, which he, however, assured us was quite destitute of interest. Choosing to settle the question of interest for ourselves, we proceeded, unattended, along the narrow valley of the convent to Wady el Raha, and, turning to the west, were soon at the base of Sooksafa. We commenced our ascent along the western side of a low granite ridge, which runs in the proper direction, and found ourselves, in due time, upon the summit, of which this is the base. At first we walked upon fragments of stone that had fallen from the regions above; but soon reached the solid bare rock, of which the mountain is chiefly formed, over which we pursued the largest part of our way to the top. It is slightly disintegrated, presenting a rough surface, which greatly diminished the danger of slipping. A second elevation, of a steeper and more laborious ascent, was now before us. There are no less than four of these cliffs, each of which would, in other localities, be regarded as lofty, standing nearly in a right line with the object of our toil, and forming so many stages of the ascent. The second presented no serious obstacle to our advance, and was soon surmounted. The next was steeper, and the surface of the rock, possessing greater solidity than the masses below, was too smooth to afford a good foothold; and as the slope near the

summit became very steep, our progress was difficult and fatiguing. We were induced, by the unpromising appearances immediately before us, to descend into a narrow gorge, lying directly between the last of the minor elevations and the towering form of Jebel Sooksafa, which offered to our view an immense solid mass of rock, rising to the height of several hundred feet, and absolutely perpendicular. We hoped, however, to discover some less forbidding prospect by passing around its base to the eastern or southern side. Our ascent up the ravine was facilitated by a great number of rocks and fragments of granite which had fallen from the heights above and lodged in its channel. They formed, in several places, laborious but convenient stairs. Before reaching the point where we had hoped to find some practicable slope, by which we might be able to ascend the threatening mount that overhung us, our passage was suddenly stopped by a yawning precipice. At the bottom, which appeared to be two hundred feet below us, was a narrow vale, enclosed by precipitous rocks of great height, and covered with shrubs. Some deep gorge, concealed from our view, probably extends from this to one of the larger valleys below. Our hopes of success on this side, at least, were blasted, and it seemed probable we should be compelled to return to the plain from which we had set out, and select some other point of departure. We found, however, on farther examination, a part of the cliff where we could commence the ascent, though it appeared to become impracticable at a higher elevation. The attempt succeeded beyond my expectation. The narrow bed of a decomposed vein of porphyry offered us, at first, an unexpected facility. When this failed, we succeeded in pulling ourselves up the no longer perpendicular mass by means of small cavities in its surface, such as I have already described. The slope now became so gentle that we could creep along upon our hands and feet, though a misstep or slip might have been

fatal. Just beyond the point where this more gentle ascent commenced, I was so unfortunate as to diverge from the proper course, and soon found my progress stopped by a perpendicular cliff. By means of some small fissures and projecting points of rock, I mounted to the height of fifteen or twenty feet before I perceived the impossibility of advancing farther. In attempting to descend, which was much more difficult, my eye caught a view of the profound abyss, at least 200 feet deep, over which I had incautiously proceeded by following shelving parts of the cliff too far to the left, and into which a false step would have precipitated me. For a moment my head turned, and I clung to the face of the rock, upon a small projection of which my hand had fastened with an iron grasp. I presently rallied, and, by great good fortune, soon extricated myself from a very unpleasant situation. The loud shouts of my companion, who had reached the summit of the mountain, fell on my ear at this precise moment of anxiety and peril. After resting a few minutes to recover my strength, which effort and excitement had completely exhausted, I struck upon the way by which he had ascended, and soon exulted in the accomplishment of my object.

The summit of Sooksafa, which, seen from Wady el Raha, seems but a point, spreads out into a level area of considerable extent, composed of dark gray, sunburnt granite. The view from this point is little inferior to that from Sinai, and embraces nearly the same region. I was most gratified to ascertain that it perfectly commands the plain of El Raha, and that every object of sufficient magnitude, and every transaction upon its summit, must have been seen by the encamped Israelites. My opinion, that it is the real Sinai, was, of course, strongly confirmed. There are two other summits upon this end of the mountain rather more lofty than this, within the distance of half a mile or a little more. I ascended them without much difficulty, to ascer-

tain if either had any claim to the honour which I had awarded already to the first. I was soon satisfied that they have not. Only a small part of the plain of El Raha is visible from them, the view being obstructed not only by the commanding summit of what I must confidently think the true Sinai, but by some lower elevations which occupy more advanced positions.

I have already stated the reasons which render it quite demonstrable that the southern part of Jebel Mousa is not the Sinai of the Holy Scriptures. There is no valley or fit ground, of sufficient extent for the encampment of the Israelites, within sight of that summit, while the account supposes Sinai to be near the camp, and visible to the whole multitude. Exodus, xix., 2, informs us that Israel, having removed from Rephidim to the wilderness of Sinai, "camped before the mount." In the 11th verse it is said, "the Lord will come down in sight of all his people on Mount Sinai." Great anxiety was felt lest the people should press upon and touch the mountain, which implies that the camp was very near it. "Take heed that ye go not up into the mountain, or touch the border of it." "Thou shalt set bounds unto the people round the mount," ver. 24. "Moses brought forth all of the people without the camp to meet with God, and they stood at the nether part of the mount," ver. 17. "And all the people saw the thunderings and lightnings, and the voice of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking," Exodus, xx., 18. "And Moses built an altar under the hill," Exodus, xxiv., 4; and after the sacrifices had been offered, "He took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people," xxiv., 7. At the time when Moses was forty days in the mount, "the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mountain, in the eyes of the children of Israel," Exodus, xxiv., 17. On the descent of Moses from Sinai with the tables of the law, when the people were engaged in worshipping the golden calf, he

heard the songs of the people from the foot of the mount, not having yet approached the camp, Exodus, xxxiii., 18. After the second tables had been received, and Moses was descending from the mountain, his face shone, which the people saw, and feared to approach him, until Moses called unto them, Exodus, xxxiii., 25, 31. From these quotations it is evident, first, that Sinai was visible from every part of the camp, "in the sight of all the people:" secondly, that it was near the camp. The whole current of the narrative carries this idea, and it is particularly implied in the fact, that the people saw the face of Moses, and that he heard their songs, and, on one occasion, called to them. All of this was practicable and easy upon the supposition that Sooksafa is Sinai, and El Raha the place of encampment; and was impossible if the mountain fixed on by tradition be regarded as the real Sinai. Some of the transactions mentioned are inexplicable upon any other hypothesis than the first, and there is no other mountain, small or great, which can answer to all the circumstances of the Scripture narrative.

Lord Lindsay, whose letters have been shown me by an English gentleman, fixes upon a hill about two miles south from the encampment, with which it communicates through the narrow ravine in which the convent is situated, as the true Sinai. This elevation is seen from a small portion of the plain of El Raha, though, from the parts of it near the base of Sooksafa, which were certainly occupied by the tents of Israel, and were the most eligible site for that purpose, it is invisible. This mountain seems to have been preferred by Lord L. because of its easy ascent, Sinai and Sooksafa both presenting considerable difficulties in this respect. Could an old man like Moses have surmounted them so often and so readily, as the transactions, we know, all took place on the top of the mountain? There is enough to meet such objections in the fact, that Moses retained to

the end of his life the vigour of youth. "His natural strength was not abated." The lapse of ages, too, produces considerable changes in the face of nature, and still greater upon roads and mountain paths; so that Sooksafa may have presented at that time no obstacles but those belonging to its great elevation. I do not doubt that a more practicable way might now be found than that to which chance directed us, and yet we reached the summit in less than two hours. Nearly one hour must have been consumed in going from the camp of Israel through the long, rough valley of the monastery, a task which Lord L.'s hypothesis assigns to Moses.

I spent an hour or more upon these lofty and venerable summits, and read the Decalogue, with an account of the prodigies which attended its promulgation "on the top of the mountain," where I cannot doubt it was promulgated by the Almighty Lawgiver. Several deep valleys lie among the different masses of this part of the mountain, covered with a profusion of shrubs, to which the herds of goats belonging to the Bedouins find access by paths, certainly less steep and toilsome than those by which we made our ascent.

My return from Sooksafa to the convent proved a much more serious affair than the upward journey. I did not wish to proceed by the same way, and thought a more direct path might be found, which would also give opportunity for exploring more extensively the central parts of the mountain. My companion took a gorge that led him to the valley of the cypress, through which we had passed in ascending Mount Sinai on Saturday. I fell into one which took a southeast direction, towards the vale of the convent. This side of the mountain is very steep, and the gorge, walled up on both sides by perpendicular cliffs, presented a slope unexpectedly abrupt and difficult, which was only made practicable by the rocks lodged there in their descent from

the mountain: these, however, gave a good foothold. After descending for about half an hour, I was stopped short by a precipice at least one hundred feet deep. No course remained but to retrace my steps up the gorge, and in another half hour I was again upon the summit of the mountain. Looking about for a more practicable route, I soon found and entered a second ravine, similar in appearance to the first. Both had been formed by the removal of some perpendicular strata interposed between the masses of granite, which rise in upright or overhanging cliffs of towering height. This second attempt to reach the vale was not more fortunate than the first. At about the same point in the descent, an immense mass of granite, forty feet or more in diameter, had lodged, and completely blocked up the gap. Accumulations of smaller stones and debris formed a level on the upper side of the rock; but below, the torrents had worn a frightful precipice, extending to a depth much greater than the height of the rock. Here, again, was an impassable barrier, and I turned my face once more towards the summit of the mountain. The ascent proved difficult. I had slid down in several places over smooth rocks, which afforded no hold to the feet or hands in ascending. My strength began to fail under this unfortunate accumulation of labour, and I experienced a lively satisfaction when I once more stood on the lofty summit above, clouded only by the necessity of renewing an attempt which I began painfully to feel might be crowned with no better success than the former. I would have returned to Sooksafa, and taken the way which I at first declined, but had lost the direction. I resolved, therefore, to attempt to find my way to the vale of the cypress, where I should have no difficulty in following the beaten road to the convent. Ascending to the highest peak in this part of the mountain to take an observation, I soon struck a gorge which led in the right direction. It presented all

the difficulties of those I had previously attempted, with the exception of such as were absolutely insuperable. I slid over long declivities, having a surface too smooth to admit even of creeping, and I was made anxious by the reflection that it would be impossible to retrace my steps, should this gorge, like the others, prove to be impassable. I soon found that it did not lead to the cypress, but took a direction towards the eastern side of the mountain, of whose enormous, abrupt cliffs and precipices I had such recent experience. After descending for some time, I was gratified with the sight of a small, rude chapel, such as are to be found in several of the deep glens of the mountain. This demonstrated, at least, that the way was not unknown. The gorge by which I was descending expanded into a large vale, watered and verdant, but soon contracted again to its former dimensions, and I had reason to believe, from the increasing abruptness of the descent, and the total disappearance of all indications of improvement, that the chapel was approached from the opposite direction, probably from the valley of the cypress. This, at least, promised a way of escape should I be compelled once more to return. Fortunately, however, I was enabled to proceed by this route to the foot of the mountain. I reproached myself with the imprudence of venturing into a region so full of precipices and impassable gulfs without a guide; and I trust that a lesson which has cost so much anxiety and toil will not be lost upon me.

I was employed in these baffling attempts to descend the mountain three and a quarter hours, and was absent, in all, above six hours. Twice this last gorge was stopped by immense fragments of rocks, which had fallen from above, and perfectly filled it, forming precipices thirty or forty feet in height. In both instances I found a subterranean passage made by the rains, just large enough to admit my body, through which I crawled under the superincumbent mass, and reached the bottom of the precipice formed by this

lodgment. The last hour was one of intense anxiety. I was saved from fear by putting my trust in God, who guided me in safety, and I am sure I felt a lively gratitude.

March 17. I rose this morning quite disabled from making any effort, through the effect of yesterday's exertions, and resolved to keep within doors and devote the day to repose. I was, however, unable to resist an invitation to accompany three of our party to the top of Jebel Mennagia, the mountain which Lord Lindsay has selected as the real Sinai. I am not aware that any previous traveller has entertained such an opinion. The height proved more considerable than I had supposed from the view I had taken of it from Wady el Raha and Sinai. Seen from these points, it has the form of a dome or flattened hemisphere. It also appears much less irregular and broken than any other elevation in the vicinity, and exhibits a green colour, which I supposed to be derived from the decomposition of greenstone, so abundant in the lower declivities of these mountains. I found, however, on examination, that its regularity of form and evenness of surface were only apparent. Jebel Mennagia is formed of several ridges, which are successively encountered in the ascent, with the variety of gorges, precipices, and bare masses of granite, all upon a smaller scale, which characterize Sinai and Sooksafa. It is not a little difficult to account for its peculiar hue, as we did not find the debris of greenstone, to which we had ascribed it. The larger masses of rock are red granite, and the surface is thickly covered with small fragments of gray granite. There is no verdure upon the mountain to which it might be indebted for its peculiar aspect. Though covered, beyond any spot so elevated which I have yet seen, with shrubs, they are all leafless and nearly white. It was, perhaps, the reflection of the sun's rays from the intermingled red and gray rocks that produced the green. The ascent employed not quite an hour.

Immediately south of this mountain commences a long, irregular wady, which tradition, at least that of our monk guide, has fixed upon as the valley of Rephidim, the last encampment of the Israelites before they removed to Sinai.

My examination of Jebel Mennagia would have removed all doubts, had I felt any, with regard to the claims of Lord Lindsay's hypothesis. It is not less than two miles south from the camp of Israel in El Raha. A narrow wady, which may be regarded a prolongation of that of El Raha, the place of the encampment, now called Wady el Deir, the Valley of the Convent, terminates at the northern base of this mountain. It is quite choked with large rocks, broken and abrupt, and wholly unfit for pitching tents. Lord L., indeed, does not consider it as having formed any part of the encampment, which he concurs with all travellers in fixing in Wady el Raha. Through the length of this vale Moses had to travel, according to the hypothesis in question, whenever he visited the holy mount. This, with the subsequent ascent, would require at least as much time and effort as the ascent of Sooksafa, the difficulty which seems to have led the author to give Jebel Mennagia the preference. We read in the Bible that Israel encamped before Sinai; that Moses addressed the people from its base; that they saw him ascend and descend; that he heard their songs from the camp; and, finally, that they saw his face shine as he came down to the camp—all of which is irreconcilable with the claims of so distant a mountain. What need, too, of so many precautions to keep the people from pressing upon the mount, if it was distant two miles from them, and secured from the approaches of a multitude by the narrowness and impracticable nature of the valley? On one occasion, at least, the multitude was drawn out in front of the camp before Sinai, to be spectators of the sublime transactions on its summit. This would be clearly impossible in the Valley of the Convent, which is scarcely twenty or

thirty yards broad, and so obstructed by immense rocks as hardly to leave room for a camel-track. Finally, Mount Mennagia, though conspicuously seen through the length of Wady el Raha, is concealed by Sooksafa from a large area, embracing more than half the width of the valley, and precisely that portion of it which is best sheltered and most eligible for pitching tents. I saw two Bedouin encampments there, while there was none upon the rest of the plain. It will be recollected that the transactions on the top of Sinai were seen throughout the whole camp of Israel by all the people.

I was gratified to find that tradition, which is certainly at fault in teaching that the Scripture Sinai is the mountain which now bears that name, has nevertheless fixed a number of the scenes of interesting events in their natural positions, upon the supposition that Sooksafa is the "holy mount." The rock on which Moses broke the tables of the law is shown where he might have passed in descending from that summit to the camp. The place where Aaron waited for the return of Moses from an interview with the Deity is not inappropriately selected; and the same may be said of a cavity in the rock where, if the monk's is good authority, the gold was melted to form the golden calf, and of that rock on which Moses broke the tables of the law. The rock which he smote and brought forth water to supply the wants of the restless multitude, is shown in the deep valley west from Sooksafa, but yet so near as to confirm its claims to be the true Horeb or Sinai. I certainly should be unwilling to vouch for the authenticity of the traditionary monuments to which I have referred, though there may be some truth amid the fabulous nonsense that obscures it. But, be the traditions true or false, they show that this extremity of the mountain, and not the present Sinai, nor Jebel Mennagia, was formerly regarded the summit upon which the law was given.

I must not omit to give some description of the Convent of St. Catherine, a very ancient monastic establishment, and still possessing, from its position and associations, a very peculiar interest. I have described its situation in a prolongation of Wady el Raha, which is here contracted to a very narrow ravine of a broken surface, and literally filled with rocks. It may be three quarters of a mile south of the encampment of the Israelites, and is overshadowed on the east and west by towering, almost perpendicular mountains. A more wild and romantic situation could not probably be found upon the face of the earth; and if complete separation from the haunts of man is sought by those who devote themselves to the monastic life, this advantage is here enjoyed in perfection. A few small, wandering tribes, scattered over an immense tract of country, from the Nile to the frontiers of Syria, alone interrupt the perfect solitude which Nature has ordained throughout this vast region; and these possess so few habits and sympathies in common with the rest of the species, that they cannot be regarded as interfering with this absolute and complete seclusion from the world.

The monastic edifice is ninety paces in length by eighty-two in breadth. It is substantially built of granite, and the walls, thirty feet high or more, present rather an imposing exterior. There are loopholes for musketry, and some small towers in which cannon are placed, as it was designed to be a fortress no less than a quiet retreat for holy men. Its position in the midst of uncivilized tribes, often hostile and always predatory and treacherous, renders this precaution indispensable. The convent has, however, long enjoyed a precarious protection from the Bedouins in the vicinity, who claim in return certain privileges, of the nature and extent of which I am not well informed. The most important is the daily distribution of a certain portion of bread to all the Bedouins who present themselves as

candidates for that bounty. The number of regular pensioners is very considerable, as this long-established charity has led to the formation here of a sort of Bedouin colony, whose low, black tents are seen in the neighbouring valleys. I witnessed the process of distribution this morning, to the unusual number of two or three hundred persons, whom our visit to the convent had aided in drawing to the spot. Each applicant received four small loaves, or cakes, a very ample ration, of about the worst-looking farinaceous preparation that was ever dignified with the name of bread. I took one loaf as a curiosity. A large number of Arab servants are attached to the convent, and employed in cultivating its gardens as well as within the establishment; and, at the present time, a good many workmen are engaged in making repairs. Besides the employés of the institution, no Bedouins are admitted within the walls. We were compelled to descend by the windlass or by the covered way through the garden, to make arrangements with our sheiks for renewing our journey. The quiet acquiescence of a people so independent and proud spirited, in this invidious exclusion, is a remarkable instance of the power of custom over the untutored mind. What renders this more striking, is the dependance of the establishment upon the Bedouins for protection, and the perpetual acknowledgment of this dependance by the payment of a tribute in the distribution of food.

The interior of the convent does not answer to the solid construction and respectable architecture of the outward walls. The immense quadrangle is subdivided into several courts of very irregular forms, and a large number of small chambers, two hundred, I was informed, are erected against the walls, and fronting these courts. They are entered from long corridors, and some of them, upon the second or upper story, are tolerably light and commodious. The rest appear confined and gloomy, though, perhaps, not ill adapted

to the purposes for which they were erected. The remainder of the quadrangle is occupied with a great number of chapels, a church, a mosque, a well of good water, mechanics' shops, a spacious refectory, and all the et ceteras needful in such an establishment, together with many waste rooms and spaces which appear to have no other use than to increase the air of comfortless desolation which reigns throughout the whole. Everything but the external walls and the church, seems fast tending to ruin, and all repairs and improvements are made in so wretched a style, and with so little regard to plan and symmetry, as to increase rather than diminish the appearance of general dilapidation. The doors, staircases, &c., are of the rudest workmanship, not at all superior to the cabin which a new settler in the wilds of America hastily constructs with no tools but his axe and auger. The blemishes of bungling handicraft are aggravated by the crooked, misshapen timber employed in building. This is unavoidable in a country absolutely destitute of this essential article. I believe all the timber employed about the monastery is the growth of the gardens attached to the establishment. It is, of course, scarce and very precious, and the ill-shapen trunks and twisted limbs, which, in other places, would only be used as fuel, are here fashioned into door-posts, banisters, and other ornamental work. Distorted branches of fig and olive trees are used for joists and rafters. The roof is formed by placing upon these, layers of cane, which are covered with earth.

The visiter to Mount Sinai does not fail, with a monk for his guide, to make the tour of this labyrinth of antiquated chapels, crazy staircases, and low, dark passages. There is hardly anything worth seeing; but it is not the less a duty to inspect everything in such a place, and a person who possesses some sense of the ludicrous will, at least, be able to derive a degree of amusement from the grotesque style

of all that he beholds, and from the unique nonsense and absurdities plentifully uttered by the loquacious cicerone. In making this indispensable tour, I was first led through a great number of small chapels, dedicated to different saints and angels. They all had a very antiquated appearance, and are in bad repair. The walls are usually covered with small paintings, old and much faded, and, with very few exceptions, destitute of every species of merit. The most conspicuous niche was, of course, always devoted to the saint, apostle, or angel to whom the chapel is dedicated; and our monk, who spoke only Turkish, which was interpreted in Italian, and again into English, usually entertained us, in each chapel, with some tedious legend connected with the history of the patron saint, that, by the time it had received the decorations of three languages, arrived at the ear particularly flat and insipid. We visited, I should think, a dozen of these chapels, which, I subsequently learned, constitute less than a moiety of the whole. They were probably the best, and selected on that account.

As a sample of the extreme ignorance of the monks, and of the frivolous and debasing traditions which they receive as religious truth, I will mention one or two of the tales related by our guide. I select those of the gravest character. Some were not only more childish, but absolutely vulgar and indecent.

The sixth chapel which we entered is dedicated to Moses and Aaron. In this, the principal object is a picture of Moses presenting a tablet to the Almighty, who writes the Decalogue upon it with his finger. The monk assured us that, upon this occasion, Moses remained on the mountain *twenty* days and nights without tasting food.

We were led into a very small, low chamber, with a window looking southward upon Mount Mennagia. In this room it was that Moses, who was feeding Jethro's sheep on that mountain, saw Mary and the infant Jesus,

The lower rocks close to the route, and the mountain, here distant perhaps 200 yards beyond them, are perpendicular or overhanging. The upper strata, which are sufficiently solid to resist the action of rains, rest upon masses of softer rock, and the water that falls upon them runs over their hard, regular edges, and trickles down the side of the softer mass below, conforming it to the same perpendicular with the superincumbent crust, or forming large but regular cavities beneath it. At the depth of twenty, fifty, or a hundred feet, the descending fluid meets another and another hard layer, and the same changes are produced by the elements upon the half-formed masses underneath. This variety and regular succession of colours and figure give great interest and unique beauty to this singular mountain, which our guides called Jebel Miset.

In descending from this ridge into the next valley, another very beautiful formation arrested my attention. A vast number of pebbles, which, by some agency, had assumed a globular form, were imbedded in sandstone. The mass has, however, been partially decomposed by the action of the elements, leaving the pebbles, which still retain their peculiar forms, incrusted with a thin coating of sand, and joined together in a great variety of rare and graceful combinations. Many of these resemble, in form as well as size, clusters of grapes, others, bunches of plums or apples that grow crowded together upon one stem; and not a few of a larger size assume the exact form, and, for anything I could see, might answer the purposes of double-headed shot.

Wady Souanah, into which this interesting pass conducted us at half past nine o'clock, is covered with white sand, gravel, and fragments of flintstone. A considerable extent of it is paved with white and red sandstone, which presents a level surface, and is of about the same elevation as the rest of the valley. The strata are very thin, and the red and the white successively rise to the surface, the pas-

sage from one to the other being made by a single step whose height is the thickness of one layer. The north-eastern termination of the valley exhibits another instance of the mixture of red and gray granite, porphyry, green-stone, and sandstone of various hues, which gives such a peculiar aspect to the mountains of this region.

We next crossed Wady Shubaka, through which, as we were told, the usual route to Acaba leads to the seashore. Our guides, under pretext of finding a shorter way, but, probably, to secure a more abundant supply of shrubs for so large a number of camels, took an inland route farther to the left. It soon became so obscure that they were often at a loss in choosing the route, and seemed never to have passed this way before. A decided change has taken place in the features of the country. The valleys are broader and the mountains much less elevated. Wady Attia, which we entered at twelve o'clock, is covered with white sand, that reflected the light very painfully upon the face and eyes. Wady Hertia is similar in its general appearance. An isolated mountain of the same name stands on the right near the route, and the more distant range of Jebel Tih on the left, in addition to the usual variety of colours, exhibits a considerable extent of cliff of a vivid and beautiful slate colour. At half past two we were in the small Wady Partah, and near the end of our day's ride some chalkstone began to be visible in the bases of the mountains. We encamped in Wady Hessieh, a wide valley, well supplied with shrubs and bounded by low mountains.

March 23. A ride of less than an hour this morning brought us, at half past seven o'clock, to some water, which is dignified with the name of a well—Ain Shara, though there is nothing more than an unshapely excavation in the sand, about three feet deep, into which some muddy, brackish water rises. Several similar pits near by are now choked with sand and dry. The obstructions might prob-

ably be removed with the hand in a few minutes, so as to make these neglected sources equally valuable with the one where we watered our camels and replenished a few empty bottles. Some low ridges here approached near to our route, covered with a thin crust of hard rock, while the lower masses were imperfectly formed and much disintegrated. The valley afterward expanded into a plain, bounded by low mountains, or rather hills, of chalkstone. By ten A.M. we had entered Wady Tih, which is no longer a mountain valley, but a broad plain, the chalkstone mountains being five or six miles distant from the route. It is diversified with a scanty verdure and dark streaks, covered with fragments of flint. After ascending slowly for several hours we found ourselves on the summit of a low ridge of limestone, which declined abruptly into another plain, to which we descended over the irregular, broken rocks, with some difficulty. The sandstone here reappears, though white ridges, apparently of chalk, are still seen at the distance of several miles on the left. On the right are ranges of red sandstone. Our direction was northeast and east-northeast. Wady Graffah, which is of no great extent, led us into Wady el Sata, a vast plain, which has a striking resemblance to the Desert of Suez. It is composed of gravel and sand, diversified with occasional stripes of shrubbery and shaded with fields sown with flintstone. We slept upon a verdant spot in this plain, after a day of great fatigue, rendered doubly painful by thirst and bad water. Early in the morning the atmosphere was still and the heat dreadfully oppressive. About nine o'clock, a hot, parching wind arose, which, however, gave some relief, and seemed to aid respiration. It increased during the day, and gradually lost something of its fiery temperature.

March 24. After travelling an hour, or a little more, this morning, we struck the great route of the pilgrims from Egypt, by Suez and Acaba, to Mecca. It is the first place

where I have seen anything like an artificial road in Arabia. Here some labour has evidently been employed in removing rocks that impeded travel, and in several places terraces are built on the declivity of the mountains, to support the road above. It is a rough and rugged part of the way. We soon began our descent towards the sea, turning a little more to the east in our direction. The eye here ranges over a wild and striking scene. Besides an immense field of mountains visible on both sides of the sea, there were some deep, dark ravines in our front, which seem to have been produced by mountain floods, though upon a scale of grandeur which would lead us to conclude that they are, to a great extent, natural, and that the descending torrents have deepened them, and added to their gaping, almost terrific aspect. The descent was very steep for about an hour, when we reached some mountains of red granite, possessing all the peculiarities of those of Suez—the sides perpendicular and ragged, with a multitude of lofty, slender peaks separated by deep gorges. Perpendicular strata of porphyry run in all directions along their sides and summits. Greenstone appears in the lower parts, while some of the higher masses are black, or of a dark slate colour. The route of the hadjis winds among these curiously-formed and diversified mountains to the coast of the Gulf of Acaba. It is whitened with the bones of camels, and at short intervals are seen many simple monuments which mark the places where these zealous Mussulmen have closed their pilgrimage. We passed some considerable mounds of ruins and rubbish on our left, and, proceeding quite round the head of the gulf, arrived at Acaba, situated on its eastern side. We were cheered by the unexpected appearance of a rich grove of palm-trees that stretch along the shore for several miles. They thrive well, and quite concealed the castle until we approached its gate.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Situation of Acaba.—The Castle.—The Town.—Population.—Trade.—Negotiations with Hussein.—His Caution and Tact.—Exorbitant Demands.—Aid of the Egyptian Governor.—Threats.—Hussein.—Sea-bathing.—Difficulties.—Departure of the Towaras.—Payment in Advance.—A new Thought.—Dishonesty of Hussein.—Sheik of Wady Mousa.—Farther Impositions.—Power of the Sheik.—The Governor of Acaba.—Ezion Geber and Eloth.—Aila.—Water.—Meeting with an American.—Disadvantage of large Parties.—Safety in the Desert.—Diversity of Objects and Tastes.—Departure for Petra.—The Alouins and their Manners.—Wady Araba.—Opinion of Burckhardt.—Mountains.—The Weather.—Thirst, and brackish Water.—Disappointment.—Wady Gerundel.—Ruins.—Vices of a hungry Camel.—Geological Phenomena.—Description of Wady Araba.—Journeys of the Israelites.—Wady Araba not the ancient Channel of the Jordan.—Proof.—We leave Wady Araba.—Good Water.—Farther Notices of the Valley.—Bedouin Tents.—Oasis.—Extensive View.—Comparative Elevation of the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Dead Sea.—Mountain Formations.—Route to Petra.—Curious Forms of the Rocks.—View of Mount Hor.—Arrival in Petra.

MARCH 25. We pitched our tents last night in a grove of palm-trees between the castle and the gulf, which is within twenty yards of it on the west. Our position commands a fine view of the beautiful sheet of water, from the head of the gulf to a great distance down its widening channel, and also of the grand mountain scenery on the opposite shore. The eastern coast spreads out into a plain several miles in width, extending from the sea to a range of high mountains. In a southerly direction this plain extends, perhaps, two miles. The eye is unable to reach its northern limit, where it merges into Wady Araba.

The castle occupies a position near the sea upon the border of the plain. It is substantially built of hewn stone, with loopholes for musketry, and towers at the four corners provided with some light artillery. I measured one side of this edifice, which is about two hundred feet in length,

and, judging by the eye, it is nearly square. The height of the wall may be twenty-five feet. The governor has apartments within, and there are also store-houses and barracks for the garrison, which consists of less than forty men. This fortress possesses sufficient strength to resist the attacks of the Bedouins, and seems to be of no other use than to keep them in awe. The town, if so it may be called, consists of a few wretched huts built of cobblestones, with roofs of loose palm-leaves or straw. They are partly concealed by palm-trees, and may possibly give shelter to two hundred or three hundred people. There are a few stores, or, rather, an outdoor bazar, in the vicinity of two or three of these huts, where provender for camels, wheat, and a few other articles of bad quality may be bought. Bread, cheese, butter, lambs, eggs, and chickens may also be had at three or four times their cost in Cairo. The place owes all of its importance to the passage of the pilgrim caravans on their way to and from Mecca. The groves of flourishing palm-trees give it an agreeable appearance in the eyes of travellers who have been for some time confined to the dreary scenes of the Desert. I understood that the petty tradesmen were mostly from Suez and Cairo. The rest of the population are Bedouins, dependants on the castle.

We opened negotiations immediately after our arrival with Sheik Hussein for camels to prosecute our journey to Hebron, but have found great difficulty in effecting an arrangement. The Baron C., who holds a diplomatic station under the Austrian government, is accompanied, as a measure of official propriety, or with the hope that it would give facility and safety to his movements, by the janizary of the Austrian consul at Alexandria. This person was deputed by the party, while at Mount Sinai, to proceed to Acaba, and treat with Hussein in advance, in order that we might be able to proceed without delay upon our arrival there. The sheik, however, refused to enter into negotiations with

the janizary; but we found him, on our arrival, with a numerous train of attendants, and ready to conduct us on our journey. The price which he demanded, two hundred and forty piasters the camel from hence to Hebron, with pay for a guard, and some other extras, was esteemed exorbitant, and a sum considerably less was proposed by the party, which he refused to accept. The Egyptian governor, to whom most or all of us had brought letters from Abbas Pacha at Cairo, professed to interest himself in our success, and to use his influence to obtain more favourable terms. So far from succeeding in this object, if, indeed, he tried to succeed, it was soon announced that Hussein had advanced in his demands. The day has been spent in making, receiving, and rejecting proposals, and all that has been attempted seems only to have involved the business in greater difficulties. Instead of two hundred piasters, which he once intimated a disposition to take for each camel, we received word a little before sunset that three hundred must be paid. It appears from a conversation with the Turkish governor that the janizary has done serious injury to our cause. He represented himself as the agent of an important diplomatic functionary, who was travelling with a large suite, for whom he wished to obtain at least sixty camels. This was a tempting occasion to extort a good bargain, and the wily sheik has hitherto acted under the influence of this mistake. The governor was surprised to learn that we are a company of private gentlemen of various nations, and not the attachés or servants of an ambassador or a consul. We heard, too, from the governor that the janizary had exceeded his instructions by offering a high price, and that he has repeated the offer since our arrival, though all his powers to act have ceased. In the mean time, we find ourselves unexpectedly and perfectly in the hands of the Bedouin chief. The Towara guides who conducted us from Sinai dare not take us back again, nor to Gaza,

whither some of the party are disposed to go rather than submit to great imposition. This region is the proper country of Hussein and his tribe, and the Towaras refuse to interfere in a matter which might involve them in serious controversies. We are, therefore, left wholly at the mercy of the sheik, who must finally succeed in compelling us to receive whatever terms he chooses to offer. So far, his prices, like those of the sibyl, have risen with every refusal to accede to them.

After the governor left our camp last evening—whether through his influence or not we have no means of knowing —we received another offer from the sheik, through the dragoman of one of the party. He abates a fraction from his demand, now proposing to conduct us to Hebron at the rate of two hundred and eighty piasters, equal to fourteen dollars, the camel, and thirteen dollars for each soldier composing the escort. A sense of necessity has produced more unanimity among us, and I believe the party have about concluded to accept the offer and close the bargain. We have evidently been too diplomatic, and calculated too far on succeeding with Hussein by the shallow finesse of higgling and threats, not knowing how perfectly we were in his power. It is now well understood that we cannot leave Acaba without his permission and aid. He will not consent to conduct a part of us, but demands that we shall all agree upon the route either to Hebron or Gaza, as we choose; and, finally, he threatens that, if his present offer is not accepted, which he declares he will not modify if we wait till doomsday, he will to-morrow scatter his camels again through the mountains, in order to avoid the expense of keeping them here. The probability of his executing this threat is not a little alarming and will, I hope, incline all parties to submit to his terms.

March 26. It has finally been determined that we leave to-day, and the necessary preparations for this purpose are

in progress. Sheik Hussein is now in the camp, ascertaining the number of camels likely to be wanted. He walks from tent to tent in no little state, clothed in a long robe of scarlet broadcloth, and a fiery red turban of the largest dimensions, with a long pipe in his mouth, and followed by a secretary carrying writing materials in his hand. He is evidently an ostentatious man, walks erect, and has the air of one accustomed to superiority. He has the reputation of being faithful to his engagements, though disposed to use every possible advantage, fair and unfair, in making a bargain.

The weather, since our arrival, has been warm, but tempered with a northern breeze, which has blown constantly at night with a good deal of violence, but with moderation in the daytime. Our party have bathed every day, and for the first time in many years I have incurred the risk of plunging into the waves. I have suffered slightly for the indiscretion, but so slightly that I can with difficulty resist the temptation to farther indulgence in so rare a luxury as a sea-bath.

Thursday evening. I made a very false estimate of the delays and difficulties that beset our negotiations in concluding that we should be able to leave Acaba to-day. The night has overtaken us but little more advanced in the business than we were in the morning. The sheik acts with the greatest deliberation and cunning. The unexampled number of our party invests the transaction with dignity as well as deep interest, and he appears resolved not to permit so rare an opportunity to pass without improving it to the utmost. Having ascertained, on our part, that we are quite in his power as to terms, and that our Towara guides dare not attempt to carry us to Gaza, or to reconvey us to Sinai, even with his consent, could it be obtained, a wonderful spirit of compliance has taken the place of high resolves. The Towaras all left us this morning to return to

their valleys, and the more savage and ferocious-looking Alouins, those, I suppose, who are to be our guides, are seen in all directions in and about our camp.

After Hussein had ascertained the number of camels which we are likely to want, he left our encampment, probably to communicate with his people. After the lapse of perhaps two hours, he returned, accompanied by his secretary, the Turkish governor and his son, a fine boy of twelve years of age, who already exhibits the embryo sheik in his easy manners and superior bearing. The governor is rather a dignified-looking man, aged about fifty-five or sixty. He wears the costume of the Turks, as do all the officers of Mohammed Ali. The object of this visit was the very important one of receiving our money for the camels, a part only of which was demanded in advance. The sheik and his party, with a dragoman who acted as an agent in the business, were seated upon a carpet spread in a tent, and each individual deposited his money in the centre of the circle. The sheik counted it with great rapidity, and, after devouring the shining masses with his fine black eyes, deposited them in his bosom with an indescribable air of satisfaction. At the conclusion of this business, and when all parties had retired to their tents, the sheik concluded that it would simplify the transaction to receive the full amount in advance, instead of something like three fourths of it, which was all he at first demanded. After some objections the demand was acceded to, and, contrary to all custom in such transactions, we made full payment before any service had been rendered. Why he chose to divide the amount into two instalments, payable in such rapid succession, rather than to receive it in a lump, I am unable to conjecture, unless it was to prolong the enjoyment of fingering the money. After the completion of the matter he again left us, and I passed him an hour afterward, seated on the ground in the midst of a large group of these savage-looking Alouins, dis-

tributing the money among them. They are the owners of the camels which are to carry us to Hebron, but the sheik acts for them in making their contracts. He is entitled by usage to receive some portion of the money for his trouble and responsibility in the business; but we had reason to believe that Hussein went far beyond any custom known to the people. He openly told us that he would enter into no agreement which would not secure at least four thousand piasters to himself besides paying the owners of the camels. We had no reason to expect moderation or fair dealing in a man that could act so knavish a part towards those who intrusted him with the management of their interests.

During the afternoon we were honoured with a third visit from the same party, accompanied by the Sheik of Wady Mousa, who exercises jurisdiction over Petra. He is noted for his exactions upon travellers, and has rendered it difficult and even dangerous to visit these interesting ruins. He is a perfect savage in aspect. His coarse long beard, half white and half black, has a neglected and tangled appearance, and he was meanly clad in vile, dirty garments. The fame of our intended visit to Petra had reached him in his wilds, and he had come to Acaba, at least three days' journey, to levy his tribute in advance. He demanded and received of each individual seventy piasters.

By this time another valuable thought had risen in the ingenious mind of Hussein. He had by some means ascertained the number of camels employed by each person in transporting his effects from Cairo, and he now insisted on furnishing and being paid for the same number. Nothing could be more unreasonable than such a demand, since the wines, liquors, and provisions, which, at the outset, constituted a large part of the lading of our camels, are now nearly exhausted. Some of the gentlemen refused to submit to the gross imposition, and so the matter rests at present. I can but fear that it may occasion farther delay. Upon the

whole, the interest and gratification of making the tour by Acaba and Petra are attended by very serious drawbacks. The price, which, considering the usual pay demanded for such services in this part of the world, may be regarded as exorbitant, is a slight evil compared with the delay, suspense, and wounded pride incurred in dealing with such a man as Sheik Hussein. For myself, I can bear testimony to the irksomeness of our situation, absolutely in the power of a savage who is here omnipotent, who shows every disposition to impose upon us, and who has very significantly intimated to us that any attempt to get out of his clutches might be attended with danger. I have not the slightest fear of violence, but it is very annoying to be compelled to submit tamely to the capricious exactions of such a man, and to feel that you have neither security nor redress, now or hereafter. A little philosophy is sufficient to convince one of the folly of indulging in regrets or indignation; but a great deal would be requisite to keep those feelings in abeyance.

March 27. We left Acaba this morning about 9 o'clock. Sheik Hussein entered the camp with a multitude of Bedouins and camels at an early hour, and manifested great energy and a well-established authority over his clansmen in effecting the necessary arrangements. I had anticipated greater difficulties and more confusion here in loading the camels for the commencement of our journey, than we had experienced on any previous occasion, but was happily disappointed. Not that we were without a scene of wild uproar and disorder. This is inevitable, I believe, where a number of Bedouins are concerned; but the presence and activity of the sheik had a most tranquillizing influence, and the savage Alouins bowed to his decisions, as to what kind or amount of baggage they should take, without a murmur, and with apparent cheerfulness. I was the more surprised at this, as the power of the sheik appears to be little more

than nominal. It depends, I presume, more upon personal character than upon law, or even custom, and Hussein possesses qualities fitted to secure the respect of such a people. They, perhaps, are unacquainted with the frauds practised upon them, or it may be that this is a privilege of office so well established as no longer to be odious. He is a man of great wealth, having, it is said, more than three hundred camels, besides herds of sheep, goats, and cattle. His bearing is exceedingly dignified. It was remarked by us all that he did not once condescend to smile. In the perplexing negotiations between us he was always cool and collected, though his management did not fail to excite much warm feeling. These are circumstances which have much influence over untutored men. It was a great drawback, however, upon the respect with which he inspired us all to hear him begging for presents, or complaining that we had neglected to bring him any; but this seems to be the fashion in this part of the world, and to be attended with no reproach. The Turkish governor also endeavoured to beg the tent of one of our party, which he proposed should be sent back to him from Hebron, when the owner would have no farther occasion for it. The same dignitary sent to us this morning to demand pay for the guard which, without any request on our part, he has sent into our camp every night. A soldier took his position before the door of each tent a little after dark. They kept awake an hour or two, long enough to annoy us by their vociferous outcries; and by the time our candles were extinguished, I believe they were mostly asleep, and remained so until morning. Still, their presence may have afforded us some security. A dollar was demanded of each of us for this military protection.

Acaba, though at the head of navigation upon the Red Sea, has no trade, nor so much as a fishing-boat. It is on or near the site of Ezion Geber, where Solomon, and subsequently Jehoshaphat, built ships to carry on trade with In-

dia. It was one of the stations of the Israelites after they had been remanded to the wilderness from the frontiers of Palestine.

Eloth is mentioned with Ezion Geber as situated near it "on the Red Sea," 1 Kings, ix., 26; and they are referred to in the narrative of Moses, Deut., xxviii., as both existing in his early day. This town seems to have taken the Latinized name of Aila at a later period, and it still possessed some commercial importance under the Romans. It occupied, perhaps, the site now marked by ruins at the head of the gulf. The harbour was only fit for very small craft, as the water is shallow, not only near the shore, but as far as the eye can reach.

Water of a pretty good quality, though a little brackish, is abundant at Acaba. A well for the supply of the garrison and the household of officials is embraced within the walls of the castle. Another exists in one of the gardens of palm-trees a little south of the fortress, besides several others which seem to be less used. Fresh water is also obtained by digging small holes in the sand close to the sea. Our Bedouins had a row of these curious, simple fountains, all along the beach opposite to our encampment, and the water thus obtained, though rather brackish, was so palatable that they used it in preference to going to the wells, which are at only a short distance.

On our arrival at Acaba we found our fellow-countryman, Mr. Morris of Philadelphia, encamped on the beach in front of the castle. He had visited Petra, and returned to this place with a view of proceeding across the Desert to Gaza, but, having heard of the approach of our caravan, he waited for its arrival, and joined us in the journey to Hebron.

Travellers who design to make the journey across the Desert will do well to avoid large parties. Three or four gentlemen, guided by similar tastes and objects, may contribute to each other's comfort and improvement, but a num-

ber much greater than this is likely to prove embarrassing in various ways. A hope of greater security in the more exposed parts of the route is the most common motive for travelling in numerous caravans. This consideration, however, is entitled to little weight at the present time, though twenty years since there was more occasion for guarding against danger. The journey may now be regarded as perfectly safe, when performed by single individuals or small parties under the escort of the usual Bedouin guides. Our caravan was brought together at Cairo and Suez, partly by accident, but more under the expectation of greater security, and of obtaining more favourable terms in dealing with the Bedouins at Acaba and Wady Mousa. Hussein, on a late visit to Cairo, had told the English vice-consul there, that it would be advantageous for travellers to form large parties in visiting Petra, as they would be able to travel without a guard, and he could afford camels on lower terms when a considerable number was wanted. It was chiefly under the influence of this information that so large a party was formed. Our original number was only three or four, which was swelled to a dozen at Suez, and to fifteen at the convent. Here we felt the first serious inconvenience from the want of good rooms and other accommodations, and from the bustle and disorder with which our multitude quite filled and overrun the usually quiet monastery. Instead of obtaining better terms of Hussein, our unusual number offered a temptation to his cupidity too strong to be resisted, and we probably fared worse than a party consisting of only two or three persons would have done. We were mostly well-armed, and quite able to defend ourselves against any predatory force that we were likely to encounter upon the route, but Hussein would not allow us to go without an escort of armed men, which must be numerous in proportion to the size of the party.

Other evils still more serious than the exactions of this

barbarian are likely to be felt in travelling with too large and promiscuous a company. A majority of travellers upon this and all other routes which have become in some measure fashionable, usually have no very definite objects in view beyond the performance of the journey, and they are not likely to be tolerant of the little delays and detours which will often be thought desirable by a few persons of tastes or pursuits more peculiar. Add to this, the impatience and dissatisfaction which are sure to be felt in such a promiscuous assemblage during a month or more in the Desert, where there is nothing to amuse, and nothing to do, are little favourable to forbearance and kindness, or to unanimity of opinion or purpose. It will be fortunate if, under such circumstances, prejudices and jealousies, national and personal, are not developed, and coventional obligations and restraints a good deal impaired. A man of temper and discretion will soon learn to submit to such temporary inconveniences where they are found to be unavoidable, or to be aggravated by every attempt to palliate or remove them; still it were better not to commit one's comfort and opportunities of improvement on a tour of so much interest, and for so long a period, to accidental and ill-assorted assemblages, whose counsels and movements are liable to be directed, not by the most discreet and intelligent, but by the most obtrusive and presumptuous will.

We left our encampment about 9 A.M., under the conduct of Salim, a brother of Hussein. The latter is, at present, an invalid, unequal to the exposures of a long journey. It is a matter of regret that we are thus deprived of his services, as his control over the Bedouins would be very useful to us. They seem quite a different people from the Sinai tribes. These have frequent intercourse with Cairo, and, compared with our present guides, are far advanced in some of the virtues of civilization. The Alouins, for this is the name of the savages in whose hands we have placed ourselves,

are perfect strangers to the decencies of life. They ask us to give them everything they happen to see—bread, fruit, tobacco, &c., and they are inclined to come into our tents, and associate with us on familiar terms. There are several good reasons for keeping them at a respectful distance, besides the disrelish one may chance to have for such society. I have begun with them in season. I was no sooner in my tent to-night than one of my guides, a disgusting and filthy creature, came and took his seat upon the sand, just in the door. I promptly ordered him away, and directed Ibrahim not to permit them to come near the tent without some good reason for it. Afterward I made them all a present of tobacco, with which they seemed much pleased. They entered the tent of one gentleman of our party at dinner-time, and unceremoniously helped themselves to the dainties of his table.

Our course through the day has been almost due north along the great valley or Wady Araba, which extends from the head of the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. It is believed to have been the channel by which the River Jordan discharged its waters into the Red Sea, before the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah. I know not what evidence may exist in support of this hypothesis besides the direction and great length of this valley, and the fact that the Dead Sea has no visible outlet. The valley itself has only the usual appearance of giving a passage to mountain torrents in times of rain, through some shallow channels that mark its surface. Wady Araba is here, I should conjecture, from three to four miles wide. Our route is along the middle of it, equidistant from the eastern and western mountains. It has a scanty supply of shrubs for the first five hours from Acaba. They then become more abundant, as well as of a larger size. The tamarisk is by far the most common growth. The mountains on each hand run in nearly parallel ranges, and they have a very considerable elevation.

Those on the eastern side are composed chiefly of red granite, exhibiting all the peculiarities of the Sinai group, though on a smaller scale. They are intersected in their length and breadth by porphyry strata, and shoot up into ragged peaks, separated by narrow, deep gorges. The western range is of sandstone, with regular perpendicular cliffs, rising like terraces one above another to their summits. In front of the more lofty range are some low ridges of red granite, which run close to its base along the western edge of the vale nearly the whole distance from Acaba to our encampment, about seven hours' ride. What is a little remarkable, a low sandstone ridge runs in the same manner along the base of the high granite mountains on the east. It is less extensive than the other, and may also be seen just opposite to our camp.

Wady Araba, March 28. We have travelled to-day nine hours and a half. The morning, until nearly ten o'clock, was pleasant, though warm. The north wind kept up an agreeable temperature, without being so violent as to blow the sand in our faces, as was the case yesterday, but it died away before ten o'clock, and was succeeded by a day of intense and overpowering heat, the hottest we have experienced in the Desert. The inconvenience resulting from this high temperature is aggravated beyond measure by the want of good water. We brought a plentiful supply from Acaba, but it is brackish when drank cool from the fountain, and the heat of the sun and the reflection from the sand to-day raised its temperature in our leathern bottles to about blood heat. The salt taste is barely perceptible at the fountain, but becomes offensive at this temperature, and, what is worse, while the water gives only a momentary relief, it excites increasing thirst. One never can appreciate the inestimable value of pure, cool water, who has not felt the want of it on the Desert. The eulogies pronounced upon this most delicious of all beverages by the

zealous advocates of temperance reform are well merited. I confess I have sometimes suspected them of using the poetic license rather too freely; but I now retract all of this. I would not exchange my leathern bottle full of pure Nile water for hogsheads of cogniac and Champagne.

A little before encamping we turned aside into a ravine on the eastern side of Wady Araba, where there is a fountain. As early as two o'clock I had understood from Sheik Salim that we were near water, and I urged on my jaded dromedary as fast as in conscience I could, anxious to taste so great a luxury before the camels should drink, and, as usual, convert the fountain into a mud-puddle. I kept ahead of the whole train for several miles, looking eagerly for the bubbling spring, and I certainly never knew time and distance exhausted so slowly. When, at length, I had reached the entrance of the ravine, I leaped from the dromedary without waiting for the usual ceremony of bringing him to his knees, and, seizing my leathern bottle, advanced towards the object of my eager and protracted search at the best speed I dared to make on so hot a day. The reader may imagine my vexation at seeing the old sheik of Wady Mousa sweeping by me on his fleet and beautiful dromedary, at a pace that put competition quite out of the question. He was followed by half a dozen Bedouins, also on a long trot, and, before I could reach the spring, the camels and their masters had satisfied their thirst, and reduced the fountain to a state that rendered it quite impossible for me to drink. Fortunately, some water was collected in a small basin a little above the principal spring, and this had escaped the general pollution. It was a living fountain, the second I have seen this side of Sinai, but the water proved to be brackish, and only a little below the temperature of blood.

A few palm-trees and shrubs and a delicious grass-plot flourish in the little oasis, which is cooled and fertilized by

the sparkling rill that soon disappears in the sand. The ravine is denominated Wady Gerundel. I observed some mounds, the evident remains of ancient constructions, between the fountain and Wady Araba.

The fatigues of our journey are much increased by the reckless avidity with which our half-starved camels throw their heads to the right and left, and even bolt from the track to crop the shrubs with which this part of the route abounds. These sudden stops and turns sometimes endanger our position in the saddle, and subject us to the constant annoyance of jolts and jerks. Provender is very scarce and dear at this distance from Cairo, whence it all comes, and our guides give none at all to their camels. They eat of the shrubbery a while at night and again in the morning, but by twelve or one o'clock become too furious with hunger to regard much the admonitions of halter or whip. The Bedouins do not use bridles, and many of them not so much as a rope, guiding the animal by striking the sides of his neck with the hand or a stick.

The mountain formations on each side of the valley continue to be very interesting. The granite ridge on the eastern side becomes lower as we advance northward; and about twelve o'clock to-day, at the distance of twelve hours, or about thirty miles from Acaba, it ceased altogether, and was succeeded by sandstone. This exhibits a beautiful variety of colours as well as forms. There are some low hills rising between the base of the principal mountain and the plain, which are of a pure white when not obscured with debris or sand. The main ridge is composed of yellow, red, white, and sometimes purple strata. In one place an extensive perpendicular mass was of a beautiful light slate colour. Sometimes the summit, to the depth of two or three hundred feet, is of a delicate red, while the base is white, and the intermediate strata alternately white and red. Again the whole mountain is of deep red or brilliant white.

Several masses are of a delicate flesh colour, a description chiefly applicable to the eastern range north of the point where the granite disappears. A similar variety of colours, though less brilliant, is observable in the western, which is composed of perpendicular cliffs and steep slopes, that succeed each other alternately from the base quite to the summits. White and brown are the prevailing hues, though red strata are often seen. The action of the elements has given to many parts of this range something like architectural forms, and the eye is often gratified with the sight of natural walls and colonnades.

Wady Araba is, on many accounts, highly interesting. It was for ages the great thoroughfare for Indian commerce on its way to Syria, Asia Minor, and Europe. There is much reason to believe that two, if not three, of the journeys of the Israelites to and from the frontiers of Palestine were performed along this great natural highway, and that many years of their wandering in the Desert were passed in and near it. Mount Hor, where Aaron was buried, and Mount Seir are on its borders. Cadesh Barnea, where the Israelites were twice encamped, and where they dwelt many months, was not far north of Mount Hor, and certainly in or near this valley. My attention has, however, been more especially directed to the evidences that may exist in support of the opinion which makes this valley the ancient channel of the Jordan. The books of travel in possession of our company affirm this without qualification, and, as it seems to me, against all probability, so far as the valley itself is concerned. For the first twenty or twenty-five miles north of Acaba this wady is almost a perfect level. Much of it has, probably, been covered with the water of the sea, which has receded, or perhaps the bottom of the valley has been raised by sand. A heavy rain covers a large tract of it with water.

At nine o'clock this morning, only nine hours distant

from the sea, we passed over an extensive level tract, which had recently been a lake, the surface of the earth being yet soft, as well as bare of all vegetation, and as smooth as a floor. The drier parts are white with an efflorescence of salt. During the next hour we were passing among sandhills twenty feet high, covered with shrubs, and extending quite across the valley. For the four or five subsequent hours there was a visible and very considerable ascent as we advanced northward. Our encampment this evening, I feel confident, is several hundred feet above the level of the Gulf of Acaba. A large river like the Jordan, in running down such a slope, would necessarily sweep away the earth, and everything movable in its way. In passing over a region of rock, it would form a succession of falls and cataracts. Nothing of the kind appears in Wady Araba. The bottom of the valley, when not covered with sand, is composed of gravel and small stones, similar, in all respects but its greater extent, to the other wadies in this region. The eastern side is, for the most part, higher, by thirty or forty feet, than the western; and the mountain torrents, which, in the rainy season, enter from a multitude of side wadies, flow across the valley into a large channel near its western side. There are no deep chasms or precipitous rocks, nor any other appearances which authorize the belief that a river ever flowed through Wady Araba.

The tamarisk is by far the most abundant growth. Acacias thrive chiefly near the base of the eastern range of mountains.

March 29. We stopped this afternoon before 3 o'clock, having arrived at the entrance into the piles of mountains which enclose Petra. Our guides informed us that we must stop here, or proceed until after dark in order to reach a spot fit for pitching tents. The fatigue of constant riding, through one of the most sultry and intensely hot days I ever experienced, had prepared a general welcome for the pro-

posed halt. We have left Wady Araba, and are encamped within three or four miles of Mount Hor, or Jebel Haroun, as it is called by the Arabs, in full view of whose lofty and beautiful summit we rode for the last three hours. Some intervening ridges of less elevation conceal it from our view in our present position.

We found no water during the day, but our guides brought us some soon after we stopped, which I think decidedly the best we have tasted since exhausting the supply brought from Cairo. I should be sorry to drink so intemperately of any stronger beverage, and fear I may have some reason to repent of this cold water excess. But who, after ten days of almost incessant thirst, aggravated by tantalizing draughts from tepid, brackish springs, could resist the strong temptation of a tin cupful of cool, sweet, and tolerably clear water? I could not, or did not try, and seldom in my life have I experienced so much pleasure from the gratification of the appetite.

During our first hour's ride this morning we entered a section of Wady Araba, which presents an unusual and very cheerful aspect. The valley suddenly expands into a breadth of seven or eight miles by the receding of the mountains that bound its western side. Its surface is composed of compact sand, is almost perfectly level, and, as we approached, appeared to be carpeted with green grass. My eyes rested upon it with a degree of satisfaction never before afforded by such a sight. I had seen nothing like it since we left the vale of the Nile. Much of the beauty of the scene vanished on a nearer view, and the grass, instead of covering the ground, shot forth in single spires, resembling a field of thinly-sown grain just rising above the surface. Our camels grazed it with an eagerness which showed their preference for grass above the dry and unnutritious shrubs on which they are accustomed to subsist. Several flocks of sheep and black goats,

with a herd of perhaps a hundred camels, were scattered over this verdant plain under the care of their keepers. At a small distance farther north we passed a Bedouin encampment, belonging, as did the flocks and herds, to the tribe of Saydi. It consisted of about a dozen tents, arranged in no particular order. They are black, and made of coarse wool or camel's hair-cloth. They are open in front, are very low, and have a partition running from the front to the rear, for the purpose, I presume, of separating the apartments of the males and females of the family. Hardly anything in the shape of furniture was discoverable. An old mat and an earthern vessel or two were all that I saw in two or three tents which I passed very near, and had an opportunity to observe narrowly, as they were perfectly open to view. The camels and flocks are gathered about the tents at night, as was evident from the vestiges they had left up to the very entrances, and even within them. We saluted the people, in the customary way, who did not seem in the least disconcerted by our presence and inquisitive looks.

This beautiful oasis, which is the first spot in Arabia I have yet seen deserving of that name, is limited on the north by a range of sand-hills, extending, so far as I could determine by the eye, quite across the valley, which again contracts to a width of five or six miles; and its bottom is once more paved with stones and gravel, and furrowed with mountain torrents. Before nine o'clock the ascent had become laborious, and, for such a plain, quite steep. As we advanced northward the valley before us had the appearance of an interminable hillside of a uniform slope, which finally reached an elevation equal to that of the ridges of mountains by which it is flanked. By twelve o'clock we had reached the greatest elevation. It gave us an extensive view, especially of the region through which we had passed in coming from Acaba. It enabled us to overlook the ranges of mountains which bound Wady Acaba on the

and was beckoned by them to come and see the burning bush, which was only a few yards distant.

In the chapel of St. George, we learned that this saint was applied to for information by a father whose son was lost. The holy man lighted a candle of such miraculous powers that the disconsolate parent immediately discovered his child in the house of a Turk, by whom he had been kidnapped.

There is a small mosque within the convent, erected, as our guide averred, in a season of danger, to avert the destruction which was threatened by the Mussulman governor, to whom this region was then subject. The whole enclosure was thus rendered sacred ground in the eyes of the Mohammedans, and the convent saved. Here our guide was specially prolix, and gave us a specimen of his acquaintance with chronology and history, as well as divinity. This mosque, he informed us, was built on the spot where a priest of the convent had stood, and, looking out upon Mount Mennagia, saw Mohammed, then but a child, mounted on horseback, with a bird fluttering over his head. The priest approached the embryo prophet, and, with many congratulations, announced to him that he was destined to rise to great power and distinction. Mohammed laughed outright at what he thought an absurd piece of flattery. The priest, a little piqued, told the incredulous boy he only desired him to promise, that when he should arrive at supreme authority, he would grant the monastery perpetual exemption from taxes. This he readily promised, and when he had subsequently become King of Constantinople, the priest reminded him of the pledge, and obtained an edict, in virtue of which the monastery has ever since been exempted from all impositions.

The church is by far the best part of the establishment, and is really a fine building, of good proportions, and possessing many rich and beautiful ornaments. It was built by

Justinian, though many alterations have probably been made in subsequent times. Its granite pillars are, with singular bad taste, coated with whitewash. The pavement is of variegated marble, and very beautiful. This church, like every other spot in this hallowed region, is rich in venerable traditions. It covers the precise spot where, according to our guide, Moses saw the burning bush. A small bunch of artificial flowers stands in a vase under the altar, before which wax candles perpetually burn. The real bush, or the precise spot where it stood, is too sacred to be seen by common eyes, and is, therefore, covered with a silver urn or plate. We were requested to take off our shoes in approaching this altar.

Another chapel contains the tomb of St. Catherine, who was martyred in Egypt. Her body was borne by angels to the top of the lofty mountain just west of Sinai, which now bears her name. Here it was discovered, fresh as at the moment when life became extinct, by some of the brotherhood of the establishment, who gave it sepulture in its present resting-place. From this precious deposite the convent receives its name. A splendid lid for a sarcophagus is likewise shown in this chapel, said to have been sent hither by an empress—Ann or Catherine of Russia—who wished to be buried here. That wish was disappointed, but the beautiful lid is justly prized as one of the rich treasures of the convent. It appeared to be of massive silver, elegantly embossed, and contains a likeness of the empress in high relief.

The library of the convent, which contains more than a thousand volumes, mostly ancient, and in the Greek language, is reputed to possess some valuable books and manuscripts. We were anxious to see an ancient manuscript of the Gospel, said to be written in gold letters and to be in fine preservation, but our guide knew nothing of it. I observed several books which had been presented by Wolf,

the eccentric missionary, with such entries in his own handwriting as he no doubt thought would add to their usefulness. His name appears, too, in a manuscript volume called The Travellers' Book, where any one who wishes leaves some memorial of his having visited this sacred region. Unfortunately, other sentiments than those which holy associations should inspire, have found a place on these miscellaneous pages; and this fearless missionary has rebuked, in no very meek terms, the folly and impiety that offended his pious feelings. It is painfully interesting to read this record of ignorance, impiety, and ill-temper: the skeptic cavilling and sneering at Sinai and its associations; and the Christian, in a temper and taste not much more commendable, administering the antidote on the succeeding page.

The cemetery of the convent is certainly its greatest curiosity. It is situated in the garden, partly under ground, and we entered it through an iron door less than three feet in height. There are two long, narrow, arched rooms, devoted to the sepulture of the deceased monks. One end of each room is occupied by an immense pile of sculls, arranged in regular order, in rows one above another. At the opposite extremity of the long saloon the other bones are deposited, forming also huge piles. Along the sides of the room are the remains of those who were distinguished for their official stations or the sanctity and austerity of their lives. They enjoy the distinction of resting in rough coffins or boxes, and their iron collars and other instruments of self-inflicted tortures are suspended before these as honourable memorials, and as incitements to pious actions or emotions. The whole exhibition was deeply painful. As we passed out of the narrow door into a small unpaved court, the monk struck his stick upon the ground, and exclaimed, "This is the place where the monks are first buried; and, when the flesh decays, we dig up their bones and add them to the

collection within." This was said with the most disgusting levity; and his whole bearing in the horrid charnel-house which we had just left, had been peculiarly irreverent and frivolous.

Upon the whole, I have never visited a monastic establishment which left on my mind and feelings impressions less favourable than I received here. I express no opinion with regard to the morals of these monks. I had no opportunity of forming one, and I certainly presume they are men of correct deportment. It is probably owing to their remote, isolated situation, beyond the reach and influence of the common sentiments of mankind, and of all useful employments, that they appear to less advantage than monastics elsewhere. They are Greeks and Russians, and appear to be ignorant men, labourers, mechanics, &c., who have chosen this distant region for a life of austerity and solitude. I could not learn that they devote themselves to the cultivation of any branch of learning, or that they employ themselves in any good work. They are blacksmiths, bakers, shoemakers, tailors, who pursue their vocation as the wants of the establishment require, and nurture in solitude a traditionary, degraded piety. They occupy a position where their ignorance and superstition are sure to be unassailed by light and truth, where zeal, if they have it, is useless, and where the example of their follies only throws contempt upon the Gospel. The influence of this establishment upon the Bedouins cannot be of a doubtful character. No attempts, direct or indirect, that I am aware of, are made for their conversion. Perhaps they would not be listened to by the people, or tolerated by the government. The indiscriminate bestowment of alms upon all who apply for them must, of necessity, foster idleness, and collect around the convent a race of sturdy beggars. Accordingly, we saw a considerable number, chiefly of women and children, about its precincts, whose appearance indicated extreme wretched-

ness, while there were no symptoms of ill health or inability to labour.

The most favourable view that can be taken of this institution is to consider it as a sort of caravansary for the entertainment of strangers and pilgrims who come to visit the sacred places in this vicinity; and this is certainly one of the very few situations where such an establishment, properly conducted, would be useful and praiseworthy. The Convent of St. Catherine, whatever may have been its original design or former practice, does not at present seem greatly addicted to Christian hospitality. It is no cause of complaint that European and American travellers, whose means are commonly ample, should be allowed to pay for their entertainment. Few persons of that description would consent to enter the convent on other conditions. It would, however, add greatly to the pleasure of a sojourn within these ancient walls, if there were somewhat less of the appearance of selfishness and speculation. The domestics of the establishment understand the arts of petty exaction as perfectly as the waiters in an English hotel; and the hungry cicerones of Rome or Naples are hardly more rapacious and insatiable than the monks who conduct strangers over these interesting localities. The sums demanded and received of our large party for such services were, considering the value of labour, really exorbitant, and we had scarcely time to get seated in our chambers, after the fatigues of a tour of inspection without doors or within, before the clerical guide sent or applied in person for a fee five or ten times as great as he could reasonably demand, if, indeed, it were decent or tolerable that such demands should be made at all in such a place, and by men who have no good apology for the sort of life they lead, but devotion to the duties of pious hospitality, and the conservation of holy places. It would be unreasonable to complain of poor accommodations and coarse fare in the Desert of Arabia; but for such, exorbi-

tant pay should not be demanded or expected. When the remuneration must be offered and received as a gratuity or thank-offering, its amount must, of necessity, be left to the discretion of the giver. Yet those who happen to fall below the high tariff which custom has established here, are made to perceive that they may lose as much in feeling or reputation as they gain by an over-careful economy. For myself, I prefer, in such cases, to ascertain what may be customary, and to conform to it. If others, however, choose to be guided by another rule, it is at least shameful for those to upbraid or slander who offer all in the guise of a Christian hospitality. I am sure that our large party left the convent with no very high notions of its hospitality, or even civility, of which we were hardly cheered with the poorest forms. I must repeat, however, that the superior was absent, and that our unexampled number created a demand on the establishment which it was ill prepared to satisfy.

It may seem captious, after what I have written, to complain of the liberality extended to our servants, who were rendered disorderly and nearly useless during our stay by an inebriating beverage made of dates. It is called arack, and seemed to be both abundant and free, as our Egyptian dragomen, who would, perhaps, decline the forbidden juice of the grape, were kept in a state of partial inebriation during the entire period of our stay in the convent. It seemed to be considered a part of Christian hospitality to dispense this favourite liquor without stint; and a venerable-looking old man more than once came with a bottle in his hand to press it upon my acceptance, and seemed both surprised and hurt that I declined the tempting offer without testing the qualities of his scented arack by so much as once tasting it. I could but suspect that the good monks were much indebted to this liquor for their florid complexion.

I have said so much of the environs of the convent that

I have little more information to give on that subject. To my taste, the most agreeable, and perhaps the most useful of the improvements, consist in the gardens and groves with which they have adorned the vicinity of their establishment. The large garden adjoining the convent consists of perhaps three acres, and is enclosed with a very high wall, erected with a view to the lawless character of the Bedouin population. It must have cost immense labour to remove the stones and build the terraces. I presume the soil, which is indebted for its fertility to irrigation, must have been transported from some other place, as none appears among the rocks adjacent. The olive and fruit trees with which the garden is planted, and which, at present, are in full bloom, are very highly prized and preserved with great care. I could not obtain permission to cut off a stick from the fruit-bearing trees. The whole garden is covered with a fine growth of wheat, now about one foot in height, and probably the largest field of grain in Northern Arabia. I have not seen any besides since we left Egypt. There is another large and some smaller gardens west of Jebel Mousa, likewise devoted to the growth of fruit trees. The monastery also possesses some estates in the Greek islands, and extensive date orchards on the Red Sea, from which the arack is prepared, as well as a dried preserve of the same fruit, which is held in much esteem.

Judging from what I saw, the agricultural labours of the monks are much better performed than the mechanical. I have spoken of the bad workmanship of the carpenters. I visited the blacksmith's shop, and had occasion, as had other gentlemen of the party, to put the skill of the shoemaker in requisition. His work was incomparably bad, a real curiosity in its way—worth preserving for exhibition in a museum. The labours of the blacksmith appeared to be on a similar scale of excellence. Even the simplest handicraft trades, that minister to the prime and pressing

wants of mankind, deteriorate in solitude and the absence of wholesome competition. Man out of society degenerates into a block or a brute, and every violation of the fundamental principles of our nature tends to evil and evil only. I cannot divest myself of the persuasion that the solitudes of Sinai are as little likely to improve the piety of these recluses as their mechanical skill. God has been pleased to make excellence in personal religion, no less than in learning and art, dependant upon means and circumstances which can only be enjoyed among the haunts of men, and in the performance of such duties, and the encountering of such evils as grow out of the relations of society.

I have spoken somewhat freely of the idle traditions which the monks have contrived to connect with the interesting places of which they are in some sort the natural guardians and interpreters. I do not think the course I have adopted likely to do harm. On the contrary, such facts ought to be known to the Christian public, and the publication of them is never censurable except when made in an improper spirit. I believe the monks perfectly sincere in their statements, and I doubt not that along with the errors that form the staple of their belief, there is not a little truth, which may be too hastily rejected through that general discredit thrown on all they say by these silly fables. I have seen no reason to suspect them of attempting to impose upon others any farther than they are imposed upon themselves, though they have been suspected of wilfully misleading travellers. The rock shown by them as that of Horeb, from which water gushed forth upon its being smitten by the rod of Moses, has often been referred to as an instance of fraud. I visited this remarkable rock expecting to find those palpaple marks of art which have so frequently been described. I confess I was disappointed; and without being prepared to express, and

without having formed any decisive opinion upon the subject, I saw nothing that led me to suspect that the monks made the incisions which appear in the rock. It is an isolated mass of granite, nearly twenty feet square, and high, with its base concealed in the earth, we are left to conjecture to what depth. In the face of the rock are a number of horizontal fissures at unequal distances from each other, some near the top, and others a little above the surface of the ground. The colour and whole appearance of the rock are such, that if seen elsewhere, and disconnected from all traditions, no one would hesitate to believe that they had been produced by water flowing from these fissures. I think it would be extremely difficult to form such fissures or produce the other appearances by art. It is not less difficult to believe that a natural fountain should flow at the height of a dozen feet out of the face of an isolated rock. Believing as I do that water was miraculously brought out of a rock belonging to this mountain, I can see nothing incredible in the opinion that this is the identical rock, and that these fissures and other appearances should be regarded as evidence of that fact. Were it possible to ascertain the situation of the Valley of Rephidim, where the Israelites were encamped at the time of this miracle, some light might be obtained to help us in fixing upon the probable site of the rock of Horeb. Rephidim was their last station before they pitched at Sinai, from which it is commonly supposed to have been distant a day's journey. This, however, seems unnecessary. Nothing is said of the distance. It is only stated in Exodus that they removed from Rephidim, where they were encamped for a considerable time, probably near a month, to their station before the mount. The distance may have been very inconsiderable, and that it was so seems probable from the fact that they obtained water from the rock in Horeb for domestic use, while the camp was still in Rephidim. This might have

been done, though with some inconvenience, if we take for Rephidim Wady el Sheik, which enters Wady el Raha just east of Sooksafa or Sinai, and affords good ground for encamping within less than two miles of the rock of Horeb, as shown by the monks. So, if the valley south of Jebel Mennagia be taken for Rephidim, which it is according to the tradition of the monastery, it would still have been practicable to transport water from the supposed rock of Horeb, though the distance would be increased to about three miles over a less practicable path.

This situation of the valley would harmonize with the tradition which stations Moses, Aaron, and Hur, during the battle with Amalek, upon the southern extremity of the mountain, as we were taught by our guide in descending from the Sinai of the convent. The distance of both the localities which I have supposed from the miraculous fountain is certainly an objection. Still, some distance between the camp and the place of the miracle is implied in the account, Ex., xvii., 5, 6: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink." There was doubtless a reason for going forth from Rephidim to Horeb for the performance of the miracle, for it would certainly have been more convenient for the people to have a fountain opened in the midst of their encampment. Was not Horeb chosen because it was already known as a holy mountain, to give additional impressiveness to the Divine interposition? The rock now shown by the monks was also close to the future encampment in Wady el Raha, where this miraculous supply of water might still be available. If such a hypothesis is admissible, we should then be left at liberty to consider Sinai

and Horeb as synonymous names for the same mountain, or to extend the latter, as the monks do, to the whole of the isolated mass, to the southern extremity of which they give the name of Sinai, while my fellow-travellers and myself concurred in assigning it to the northern. If we suppose Rephidim, and, of course, the rock of Horeb, to have been much more distant from the mount where the law was given, it will be extremely difficult to understand the use of these terms in the Bible. If Horeb was twelve miles or more from Wady el Raha, what connexion had it with Sinai, or how shall we avoid confusion in the application of these names ?

There is no lack of water at present in the neighbourhood of Sinai. Winter and spring, however, are the time for rains ; and we may presume that many of the mountain streams fail during the summer, the season when the Israelites encamped here, or that the quantity of water may then be so diminished as to be insufficient to satisfy the wants of a vast multitude.

According to the observations of several travellers, the latitude of Mount Sinai is about 28½ degrees north, longitude 34 east from Greenwich.

I understood that only nineteen monks at present reside in the convent. They formerly amounted to thousands. They are forbidden to eat flesh or drink wine, and they live mostly on dates and other fruits, bread, vegetables, &c.

## CHAPTER XXII.

Journey from Sinai to Acaba.—Preparations.—Meager Resources of the Convent.—Crowd of Bedouins.—Confusion.—Gratuities.—Impositions.—Departure from the Convent.—Encampment in Wady Sheik.—Our Caravan.—Twalib.—Rumours of Danger.—Policy of the Alouins.—Unexpected Storm.—A Magnificent Scene.—Uproar in the Camp.—Bloodless Battle.—Bedouin Usages.—Camp in Wady Tahfi.—Negotiations with Twalib.—Envy of the Sheiks.—Aspect of the Desert.—Wady Gennanma.—Sandstone Mountains.—Laborious Progress.—High Temperature.—Wady Megara.—Acacias.—Wady el Ain.—Large Trees.—Ruins.—Fountain of El Am.—Bad Water.—Suffering from Thirst.—Improved Health.—Bedouins.—Desolate Regions.—Interesting Mountain Pass.—Geological Curiosity.—Singular Formation of the Sandstone Mountain.—Incrusted Pebbles.—Wady Souana.—Geological Phenomena.—Wady Shubaka.—Ignorance of our Guides.—Aspect of the Desert.—Ain Shara.—Wady Tih.—The Mountains.—Wady el Sata.—Thirst.—Excessive Heat.—Hadji Route from Cairo to Mecca.—Wild Scenery.—Descent to the Gulf of Acaba.—Granite Mountains.—Simple Monuments.—Palm-trees.—Arrival at Acaba.

MARCH 18. This was the day appointed for resuming our journey towards Palestine, and the whole forenoon was spent in making preparation for our departure. Our provisions and other stores needed recruiting. It was requisite to replenish our bottles with the excellent water of Sinai, as the Desert affords none for two or three days to come. Travellers should not fail of taking provisions in Cairo for the whole journey, as nothing is to be had of a good quality and at a fair price afterward. The stores of the convent are, perhaps, ample enough to satisfy the wants of a party of ordinary size; but for our large company they were found wholly inadequate. We only obtained enough coarse bread to last two or three days, and a little charcoal. From the Bedouins in the vicinity we bought a few lambs, which were very small and lean, as well as tough and un-

palatable. I paid twenty-seven piasters for one which did not weigh more than seven or eight pounds. These, with some chickens, and a few goats, which subsist upon the mountain shrubs, are the only domestic animals that I saw in the neighbourhood.

Our departure from the convent created a scene of indescribable confusion. Several hundred Bedouins were assembled below the window through which we had entered, and by which our cumbrous baggage, as well as our persons, must be lowered to the earth. This employed the greater part of the day. Some mistakes would unavoidably occur. Trunks, water, &c., were placed upon the wrong camels, and must be re-assorted and properly distributed at the outset, in order to guard against more serious errors. On such occasions the Bedouins are filled with excitement. They do not speak to explain, inquire, or remonstrate, but at the top of their voices, and their gestures are all violent and even furious. I was compelled to plunge into the midst of the throng, in order, so far as possible, to give to my effects the right direction, Ibrahim being quite stupified with the arack, which the good monks dispensed to the last, even supplying some extra bottles to keep these recreant Mussulmen intoxicated upon their journey. I never dwelt an hour in the midst of such bewildering and unutterable confusion, and have seldom felt more pleasure than I did when I mounted my dromedary, after having seen my baggage made fast to the pack-saddles with ropes. The venerable acting principal was forthcoming to receive my hundred piasters, which he counted very carefully, as if I were paying a bond instead of making a present. It was the first interview I had been honoured with, though I often saw him moving about the convent. Nineteen piasters I gave to the porter who managed the windlass, and half that sum to the chief of the culinary department, with smaller gratuities to the under-servants. This was pretty high pay

for a small, dark chamber, unfurnished, and
bad bread, the only consideration I had re
party was too large to eat at the table of the
own servant had cooked and done everyt
line, and I had paid separately for all servic
by the fraternity. These, I learned, were
it was customary to pay, and I chose to m
rule. One gentleman, who preferred to judg
the matter, was grievously insulted, and h
retained, which he was only able to rescu
deal of difficulty, by appealing to the chief.
were glad to turn the back upon an establ
upon the whole, we had been ungracious
entertained. I doubt not that the feeling of
reciprocal. Our overwhelming numbers ha
the accommodations of the convent, and t
half-drunken dragomen kept their usually q
a perpetual uproar, nor was it possible, w
deavours, to restore order so long as the
them with arack, which they did to the
parture.

We encamped within two or three mil
Wady el Sheik, a romantic valley encom
bare mountains, which almost overhung o
vale enters Wady el Raha through its ea
Sooksafa.

March 19. Our encampment this morn
very picturesque and imposing aspect. We
at the convent, and now number eight te
all, fifteen travellers, of whom six are Engli
cans, three Austrians; one is Scotch, and
This is the largest party of Franks who ha
through the Desert to Mount Sinai and Pet
from Twalib, the well-known Bedouin s
been with us a day or two. Our guides a

and our acting sheik, Salah, claims to be his brother, though, probably, no more than a kinsman, or, perhaps, only a clansman. Twalib says that he has not known more than three or four persons make this journey together. We hope to profit by our numbers, both by greater security, and by obtaining camels and an escort on more favourable terms of Sheik Hussein, who resides near Acaba, and has become rather notorious by his extortions. We have heard the usual quantum of rumours as to the dangers of the route from Acaba to Petra and Hebron, and at one time they came in a form so authentic that a majority of the party, who feared interruption and loss of time, resolved to abandon that way, and to proceed directly from Sinai to Gaza. After making many inquiries of Twalib, who had just come from Acaba, we could not learn that any more danger existed now than at any other time for several years past Some of the Bedouin tribes are restless, and all are dis posed to extort money from strangers by every method not exactly involving robbery and murder. An armed guard is thought necessary from Acaba to Hebron, and since it is to the interest of Hussein and the other chiefs to furnish as large a one as possible, this necessity will always be urged and magnified. It probably exists to some extent, but the transportation of passengers has become so important an interest with the Bedouins, that we may begin to calculate on security from depredations on commercial principles. They have more to gain by driving a hard bargain with travellers than by robbing them. After a good deal of inquiry and discussion we have all resolved to proceed by Acaba. Whatever may be found necessary in the way of additional guards, our party make a show of some ability to defend themselves. Nearly all have fine double-barrelled guns, and all but myself are armed with swords, pistols, and long knives.

We went to bed last night, as usual in the desert, at an

early hour, and under a cloudless and brilliant sky. Nothing was farther from our thoughts than rain, which began to fall gently by two A.M., and a little later in torrents. It was accompanied by a furious gale of wind, which drove the water through our tent-cloths, though they are double, and, what was worse, overthrew several of the tents. Mine, which is very humble, defied the blast, and admitted but little water; but I was soon threatened with a more serious evil. The beautiful valley, which we had all admired the evening before for its romantic situation in the deep bosom of the mountains, soon became the channel of several powerful torrents, and I was called from my bed a little before daylight by their loud roar, and startled to find myself on an island of sand, with a furious stream sweeping along on either side within a few feet of my tent. I packed up my goods to be in readiness to remove as soon as possible; but, in the mean time, the violence of the shower had abated.

The dawning day disclosed to us a scene of such peculiar and imposing magnificence as almost to compensate for the inconveniences of the night. The valley is hardly more than a quarter of a mile wide, and the almost perpendicular cliffs that form its sides cannot be less than fifteen hundred or two thousand feet in height above its level. Each of these elevations is cut with a narrow, deep channel, formed by the displacement of some perpendicular strata, and running at right angles with the plane of the slope, quite from the summit to the base. These are the drains of the small valleys and gorges that divide the peaks and pervade the upper mountains. Both were nearly opposite to our encampment and to each other. The rain, which so unexpectedly inundated the valley, filled these steep channels, and converted them into foaming, furious cataracts throughout their entire course, from the top to the foot of the mountains. We gazed at once upon two cataracts ten times as high as

Niagara, pouring an overwhelming flood for a transient hour into the thirsty vale where, on the previous evening, not a drop of water could be found except what we had brought on our camels.

Our Bedouins seemed to have caught the spirit of the elements, and, before the rain had wholly ceased, raised another storm equally picturesque, furious, and threatening, and, as it turned out, not more dangerous. The camels and guides which we had taken at Cairo belong in the vicinity of Mount Sinai, and our preparations for leaving the convent and recommencing our journey had called together all the men of the tribes. They appeared to have a common interest in the enterprise, and we renewed our journey with almost an entire new set of men and camels, those who transported us thus far having realized, as it seemed to be thought, their share of the gain. It would have been quite impossible to settle the details of this new arrangement in the confusion which reigned at the time of our departure from the convent; and the final adjustment was consequently adjourned to our first encampment, which, probably for this reason, they compelled us to make only two or three miles from the convent.

Our repose during the night had been disturbed by much loud and angry debate, and, just after the violence of the rain had subsided, a fierce quarrel arose, which threatened the most serious consequences. After very high words they drew their swords, and I was drawn out of my tent, where I sat writing, by the clashing of weapons. This was the signal for those who had hitherto taken no part in the quarrel, and were attending to their camels outside of the camp, or sitting under the shelving rocks of the mountain, to which they had resorted for shelter from the rain, to rush to the scene of action. They ran from all directions, drawing their swords as they advanced, and the few who had none brandishing heavy clubs. I never saw such fury

expressed in the human countenance, to which their violent words and gestures were well suited. A frightful conflict and bloodshed appeared to be unavoidable; though I have become so much accustomed, since I have been in the East, to see the most threatening affairs of this sort end in mere noise, that I could not feel the same degree of apprehension which such a scene among civilized men would excite. The matter reached its crisis the moment the combatants had assembled, and a few in the midst of the crowd had crossed their swords. I believe not a drop of blood was shed. The clamour gradually subsided, and in ten minutes the angry multitude was again dispersed through the valley. Threatening words were now and then heard from small groups of three or four, like the pattering that followed the storm, and it was not till the ensuing evening that perfect quietness was restored.

We were detained until afternoon by the effects of the rain. The tents must be dried before they were fit to be packed upon the camels, and some were so unfortunate as to get their beds and clothes drenched. When everything was ready for our departure, a new difficulty arose with the Bedouins. The loading of the camels for the first time at the beginning of a journey never fails of producing a scene of wrangling and confusion. Every guide tries to get away with the lightest load possible, as what he now consents to take he is likely to be required to carry to the end of the journey. Consequently, before one third of the customary burden is laid on his camel, he begins to protest against receiving another pound, and declares that the beast will never be able to rise from his knees with such a mountain upon his back. The traveller, who does not wish to pay for half a dozen useless animals, remonstrates as well as he can in broken Arabic. His dragoman raves and threatens, and probably the Bedouin, in a soaring passion, seizes another bag or bundle, and throws it with violence upon the

load, protesting, however, that nothing shall induce him to take any more. The sheik must now be sent for, who raises another louder and more furious tempest of words. It is all in vain; the guide is immovable. The sheik or the dragoman, however, lays on another article of baggage in spite of him, which he indignantly seizes and throws upon the ground. At last he consents to add this last item to the burden of his already doomed beast; and so on, till, at the end of an hour or more, he has, perhaps, got a reasonable load. The next, and a few subsequent mornings, there is complaining and wrangling enough, but no serious difficulty is experienced after the initiatory controversy.

It was after 12 o'clock before we were able to leave our encampment. Wady Sheik, which we followed for two hours or more, is sandy, and bounded by granite mountains possessing the general characteristics of the Sinai group. Soon after leaving this valley, we passed a well and two small enclosures, containing some palm-trees and shrubbery, which derive support from the moisture that extends for a short distance around. We pitched our tents in a plain of considerable extent, the expansion of a wady, called by our guides Tahfi, having travelled only four hours.

Thus far we were accompanied by Twalib, who was very desirous of remaining with us, as our guide, throughout the rest of our journey to Acaba, and even to Petra and Hebron. This he would be allowed to do by the Alouins, the clan into whose hands we were to fall at Acaba, though they would not permit him or his tribe to furnish any camels beyond that place. We were anxious to obtain the services of a man so well acquainted with the route, and possessing so high a reputation for intelligence and fidelity, and were about to close a bargain with him, when the sheiks who had led the different sections of our party from Cairo, moved by jealousy or envy, conspired to break off the negotiation. They laid it as a reflection upon them, likely to be

injurious to their reputation, for us to empl
form duties to which they were equally c
became much excited upon the subject, an
clamour through the camp that disturbed o
was more surprising, they succeeded in m
sion upon several gentlemen of the party
the integrity of the venerable Twalib, rep
in league with Hussein, the Sheik of the
become well known for his skill at drivi
with travellers. A majority of the compa
duced to decline entering into the arrang
of us, who were still disposed to engage hi
pense, soon ascertained that it would pr
feeling, and perhaps a division of our
manifested deep mortification at the result
He was ambitious of being the leader of s
of Franks, and his pride was wounded by
tions that had been thrown out to the di
good name. We parted with him with rel
had occasion to regret the decision we
guides proved to be ignorant of the route,
to satisfy our inquiries as to names and
connected with the wild region through wh

March 20. Our route this morning lay
crowded with mountains similar, for the
way, to those which I have so often descri
ing from Wady Gemanina, which is a br
supplied with the common shrubs of Arabi
laga, the granite mountains give place t
stone. The point of transition exhibits,
country, a confused mixture of granite, re
phyry, greenstone, and sandstone. At hal
we were in a broad wady covered with
bounded on the right and left by mounta
which at first exhibited nothing remarkable

yellowish gray, regularly stratified, and a good deal covered with debris. In another hour they assumed a more varied appearance. The base to the height of, I should conjecture, two hundred feet, is formed of very white strata, which might be mistaken for chalk. Above this white mass the strata are, for perhaps an equal height, purple and red. From thence to the summit the mountain is composed of a dull brown, half-formed mass. Perpendicular strata of porphyry occasionally rise in the sandy plain or broad valley of Tellega, to the height of several feet above its surface. Towards the termination of this valley our way became laborious and difficult. We made a considerable ascent over ridges of very white sandstone, which at length became broken and very rugged. Our track was worn into the soft rock, and occasionally led us close to the brink of deep precipices. The camels became weary, and were urged along with great difficulty. The rock formed a sort of uneven plain, stretching far to the right, and bounded by ridges of low mountains. As we advanced, and had a view of the ground from another position, we perceived it to be cut into deep gorges, which run in different directions between what now appeared to be precipitous mountains of considerable elevation. From our first position the eye had rested upon the summits, which were rather lower than this point of view; and, as the intervening valleys were not visible, the whole seemed a broad plain formed of bare white stone. The heat was intense: not a breath of air moved in these narrow defiles, and the sun poured down his rays in overwhelming power. The reflection from the white rock was so intensely glaring, and so highly heated, as nearly to produce blindness. The pain of my eyes was acute, and penetrated to the brain. We encamped at about five P.M.

March 21. We travelled for some hours this morning through Wady Megara, a broad, rocky valley scantily sup-

plied with the common species of shrubs. A few acacias, the first we have seen this side of Mount Sinai, find root among the rocks at the bases of the mountains and along the middle of the valley. Our general course is a little east of north; and though, in following the mountain defiles, we deviate towards all the points of the compass the principal valleys pursue this direction, with a regularity which, considering the perpetual breaks in the ranges of mountains, is truly surprising.

Wady el Ain, which we entered at half past one P.M., appears to be the principal drain of a large section of this mountainous country, and, though quite destitute of water at present, it has the appearance of being the bed of a broad river, equal to the Connecticut in its width and volume. The bottom of the valley is covered with white sand, and the reflection of the intensely-heated rays of the sun was very painful to the eyes and burned the skin almost to a blister. The common shrubs are now more abundant, as well as of a larger size than we have seen for many days, perhaps since we entered Arabia. The tamarisk, which has seldom had a greater diameter than one or two inches, is here to be seen a foot and a half in compass. It does not rise, however, to any considerable height, and the trunk, twisted and misshapen, commonly bends towards the earth. The mountains on either side are of red sandstone, and porphyry strata occasionally appear. We passed five ruinous houses on the summit of the eastern ridge, which were once occupied by monks.

The northern termination of this valley presents a spectacle of beauty very rare in such a region as this: a small thicket of low, neglected palm-trees, intermingled with cane, the first I have seen in Arabia. Here is something like a marsh, or morass, of inconsiderable extent, but it feeds a small brook of drinkable, though not good water.

Perpendicular rocks bound this well-watered copse on

the right, and rise beyond it into high, broken table-land. This watering-place gives name to the noble valley, and is one of the most noted places in this part of the Desert. Wady el Ain afterward makes a short bend to the right, and, under the name of Wady Wetir or Wetah, proceeds in nearly a direct line to the Gulf of Acaba.

I replenished my stock of water here at the suggestion of the guides, but afterward had occasion to regret that I had not preserved the remainder of what I had brought from Sinai. Even that had become sour and of a red colour. It is very good when drunk fresh at the source, but is spoiled by a day's transportation. Some of our party still have a supply from the Nile, which is sweet and palatable. They would not exchange it for as many bottles of the best Champagne. Indeed, we are beginning to feel very seriously the want of good water. All that we have yet found in Arabia, with the exception of that of Mount Sinai, and the rain-water, which our guides have once or twice obtained from natural reservoirs in the gorges of the mountains, is impregnated with salt, and is so far from quenching, that it aggravates thirst. This leads to the frequent repetition of the draught, and, by the close of the day, the mouth and throat become dry, and coated with a saltish, offensive slime, which, in my case at least, is so disagreeable and even painful as to prevent sleep.

We stopped early in the afternoon to afford an opportunity to two or three invalids to obtain some repose. I am no longer considered an invalid, I bear travelling so well. It is, indeed, a restorative to me; and though I still feel, as I must continue to feel, many infirmities, it is long since I have been able to bear and perform so much. After the fatigues of ten hours' ride, I usually write two or three hours before lying down.

March 22. Our last night's encampment was in the neighbourhood of a camp of Bedouins, who feed their flocks

in the Wady el Ain. We did not see
deed, we have not seen any, except at
entering Arabia. They appear to shun
ed ways, and prefer some nook conce
by the mountains, within a convenient
ley which gives sustenance to their
The people brought milk and a lan
couple of asses were grazing near. T
domestic animals I have seen this side
exception of several small herds of goat
hood. I do not remember to have obse
cations of the pastoral life, which is so

The mountains that bound Wady el
They are composed of red and gray gra
termination, a little below the fountain
are cut into gaping, perpendicular cha
very wild and savage appearance. In
valley in a northeast direction, our way
denly stopped by a high mountain of sa
sented a greater variety of brilliant colo
served before. The base to the heig
hundred feet, is red; and above this ar
of yellow, white, and purple. The wh
by masses of common yellow or brown
to a great height, contracting regularly
The route which ascends to the left of
is obstructed by ledges running across th
bounded on the right and left by lower, p
no great elevation, in which granite of v
gled with the sandstone, which also pre
of colour. A little farther, and on the l
earth 50 or 60 feet in height, which mak
bition of beautiful colours with the red cl
side of the route, but the process of co
seems to have been suddenly arrested.

west, and to view the immense mountain region which stretches to the west and southwest far beyond them. It appears like a vast plain, whose utmost limit is the visible horizon.

We left Wady Araba at this elevated point to go to Petra. I inquired of our guides, but could obtain no satisfactory answer, whether this high ground does not divide the torrents flowing northward in the rainy seasons from those which pursue the opposite direction. However this may be, it is obvious enough that the Jordan never found its way to the Red Sea through this valley, unless, indeed, we may suppose that some great convulsion has raised its bed many hundred feet above its original level. The point of view which I have described is certainly much higher than that sea. Upon Burckhardt's hypothesis, the ascent must continue quite to the Dead Sea, and we must suppose that body of water to be several hundred feet higher than the Red Sea. It has been ascertained that the Red Sea is not more than thirty feet above the level of the Mediterranean at the points of their nearest approach at the Isthmus of Suez. Their relative levels are, of course, nearly or exactly the same at the more distant points of Acaba and that part of the Syrian coast where the Mediterranean approaches nearest to the Dead Sea. The Dead Sea, therefore, must be many hundred feet higher than the Mediterranean before its waters can flow into the Red Sea. It is believed to be even lower than the Mediterranean, and certainly it is not greatly more elevated.*

Granite and porphyry, which, along our route yesterday, had quite disappeared from the eastern side of the valley, extend on the western in broken but nearly continuous ridges, to the point where we left Wady Araba to go to

* An English engineer has recently ascertained, (1841), by a series of careful experiments, that the level of the Dead Sea is 1300 feet below that of the Mediterranean.

Petra. The loftier sandstone ranges were visible beyond the granite chain, and low hills of sandstone rise between the latter and the plain. Greenstone, too, often appears here in the lower masses of the granite mountains. Sandstone and granite ridges are also much intermingled along the route from Wady Araba to Mount Hor; and I saw two or three considerable elevations where the base appeared to be granite, while the summit was sandstone. It is an appearance I have not before observed, and the distance was too considerable to admit of an inspection perfectly satisfactory. Our route towards Petra since we left Wady Araba has been mostly ascending. It lies through a table-land, if I may so call it, of no great breadth, with several isolated masses of sandstone, and a number of low ridges of granite and greenstone running across in different directions. The sandstone masses have received a variety of curious forms from the action of the elements. One strongly reminded me of the Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome, the side nearest to me appearing perfectly semicircular to a considerable height, while the successive strata resembled courses of masonry. Another more distant and much larger mass was not unlike an immense palace, contracting towards the top into the form of a roof. The body of the rock, which is white, had the appearance of a lofty wall, with rows of columns in front. The part answering to the roof is red, and contrasts beautifully with the white mass which it surmounts. In another place a tomb has been excavated in a cubical mass of sandstone, which stands upon the top of another isolated huge rock. Mount Hor is the highest mountain in sight along the route, and its broad summit of sandstone was alone visible as we approached it. A long and high mountain, nearly of the colour of ashes, lay immediately in front, and hid all the rest—all but the red, towering summit—from our view. The contrast of colours was particularly fine.

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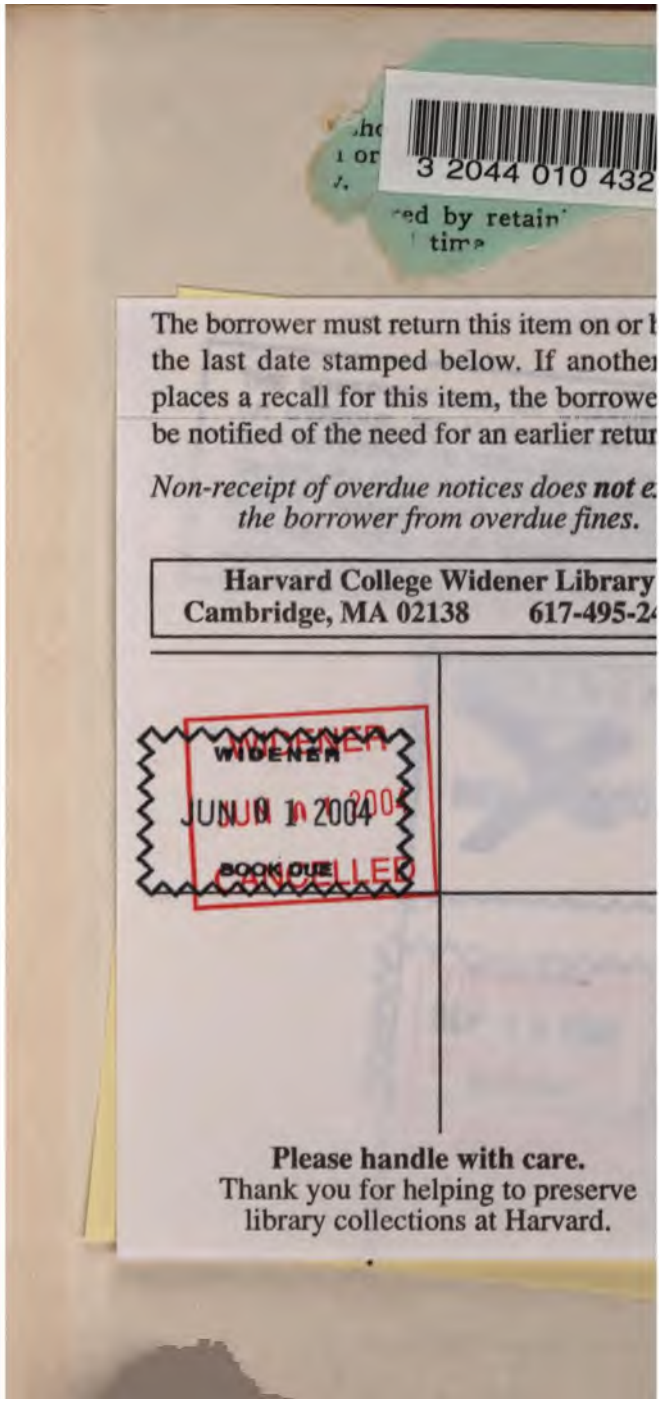
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